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ABSTRACT

The origins, socioeconomic growth, and present status of four Cleveland, Ohio, ethnic neighborhoods are analyzed in this report in order to determine their viability as inner city communities. The communities studied include (1) a "white ethnic island," the Slovenian/Croatian neighborhood on the East Side; (2) an area of "dying neighborhood spirit," the Hungarian community also located on the East Side; (3) St. Rocco Parish, an "aging" West Side Italian neighborhood; and (4) the recently born Puerto Rican area on the West Side. The importance of ethnic groups in Cleveland's overall economic development is outlined. The development of the four individual neighborhoods is described at length in terms of each area's social, economic, religious, and cultural history. Current community activities, both social and commercial, are also discussed, and current population figures and census tract maps are presented. The results of a survey conducted under the present study, focusing on demographic profiles, literacy, home ownership, income, employment, shopping facilities, etc., are described and compared for the four ethnic neighborhoods. Finally, a discussion of public policy that might be directed toward the economic and social revitalization of these and Cleveland's other ethnic communities is presented. (GC)

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SELECTED ETHNIC COMMUNITIES OF CLEVELAND
A SOCIO-ECONOMIC STUDY

by
Karl Bonutti and George Prpic

The Cleveland Urban Observatory
City of Cleveland
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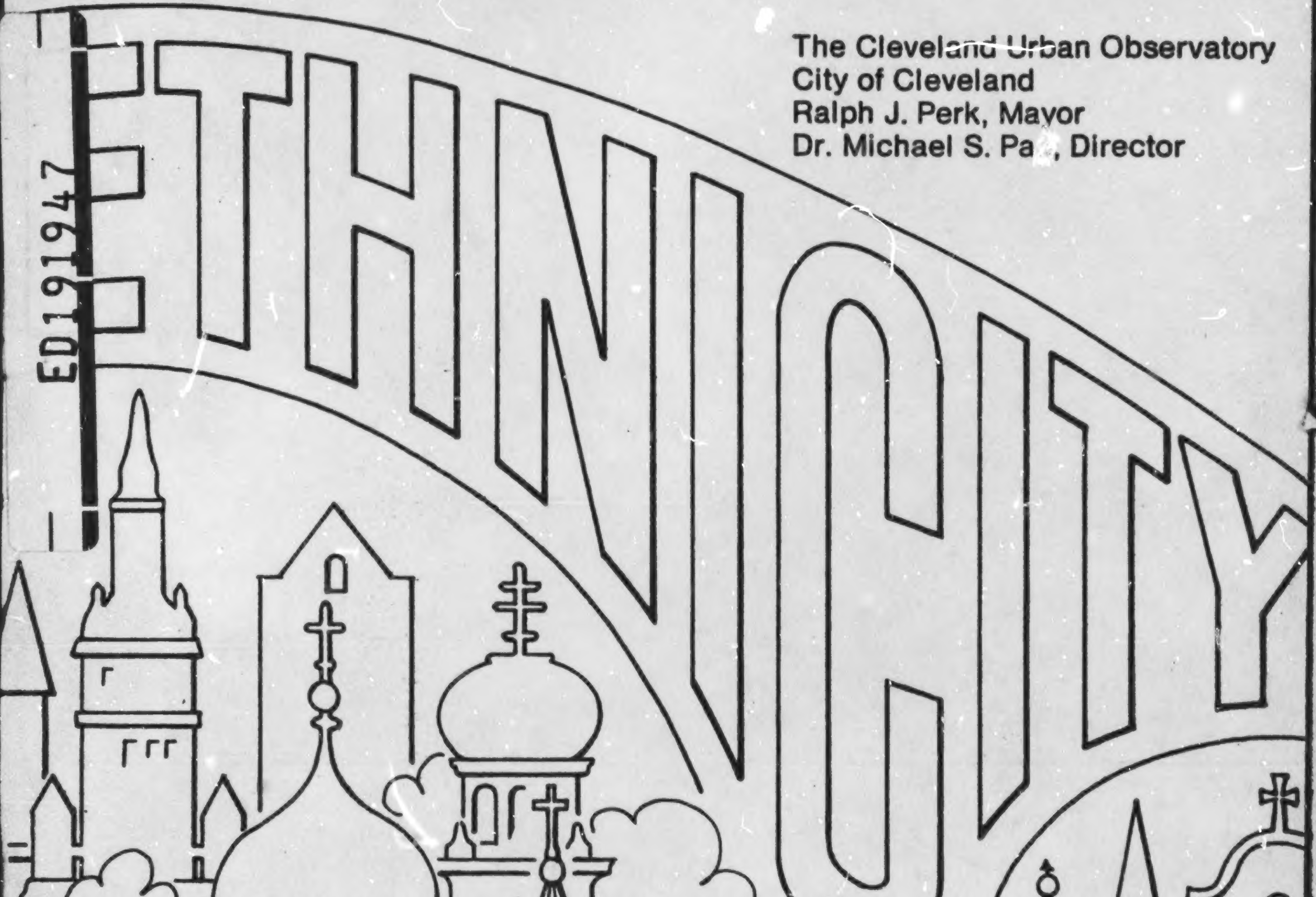

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CLEVELAND ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES
CLEVELAND STATE UNIVERSITY 1977

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SELECTED ETHNIC COMMUNITIES OF CLEVELAND

A SOCIO-ECONOMIC STUDY

by

Karl Bonutti, Ph.D.
George Prpic, Ph.D.

for

The Cleveland Urban Observatory
City of Cleveland

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This study represents a joint effort by many people who have contributed time and expertise in an area of research which has been neglected for many years by the academic community and public officials. We hope that, however imperfect, this research will shed some light on the subject, and influence others to redirect their efforts for in-depth studies of a fascinating and vital area in the life of our nation.

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Naturally, any responsibility for omissions or mistakes rests with

Dr. Karl Bonutti, Project Director
Dr. George Prpic, Co-Director

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INTRODUCTION

The post-World War II urban crisis marked by sprawling cities expanding into megalopolies, quickly developed into a major national crisis highlighted by internal population movements and migrations. Huge population shifts from south to north and east to west radically changed the composition of our urban areas.

A planless nation could not effectively cope with the changing socio-economic structure of our urban communities. Innumerable stop-gap programs, intended to alleviate urban problems, often furthered the deterioration of existing communities. By 1970, however, the decade of urban riots had subsided and rates of migration tapered off. Sober evaluation and analysis of existing solutions to urban problems now calls for less academic and more practical programs. It is within this context that the research for the present study of some of Cleveland's long-standing neighborhoods was undertaken.

In the report the authors analyze selected ethnic neighborhoods, their origin, socio-economic growth and present status, to determine their viability as inner city communities. All this aimed at evaluating the possibility of revitalizing and rehabilitating these neighborhoods rather than allowing their deterioration to the level of new slums.

Bulldozers can rebuild impersonal districts, but they can not produce the internal life and cohesiveness and historical associations which are necessary for the existence of a neighborhood. While post-World War II mobility has opened ever widening routes to suburban living, by now the "last frontier" of urban expansion into open space probably has been reached. Commuting suburbanites are seriously weighing trade-offs. Further out-migration is losing its appeal. With the increasing number of working wives, smaller families and higher transportation costs, the value and attractiveness of city living is being rediscovered.

The apostles of the "throw-away" economy and "planned obsolescence" are slowly being replaced by environmentalists and resource planners for whom quality of life is more important than conspicuous consumption. With this perspective on the future of our urban nation, it is difficult to defend the luxury of allowing entire city blocks to deteriorate to the point where bulldozers must end the squallor of rat infested and crime breeding city districts. Therefore, the concepts of preservation, conservation and rehabilitation of neighborhoods emphasizing quality of life and security rather than impersonal brick and concrete housing is becoming more desirable.

Without hampering the process of national acculturation and amalgamation in an open society, one's individuality might be enriched if given the opportunity to develop within one's own neighborhood and ethnic background. The sense of identity and ethnicity preserved by old inner city neighborhoods is a rediscovered force which can either become the source of new strength or a tool of social unrest.

Dr. Richard Schermerhorn, Cleveland sociologist and a national authority on minorities has argued that

> The demand for roots and for group identities that mounts like a crescendo in the present era is not confined to white, black, red, or brown ethnics but characterizes them all. Our time of troubles will not yield to Gleichschaltung, to a homogenization of our nation in the name of unity. That was possible in a European setting where the uniformity of language and culture permitted such a dream to exist. But if that was a false dream, even in Europe, it is far more illusory in a nation of nations, a people of people, such as America has always been. In the face of those real forces that do appear to flatten us into leveled-out masses, the old individualism can no longer save us. We do need group re-enforcement and we do need group identity to prevent our being submerged. This pluralism, whose most creative form is ethnicity, is the first step to sanity. But only the first. If the meaning of ethnicity remains purely intrinsic, if it has no goal beyond itself, if it is exhausted in a self-congratulation and bemused nostalgia, it will become like a stagnant pool whose lack of outlet condemns it to final pollution. If, however, it flows free, or to change the figure, if ethnicity becomes a tool, an agent for larger goals, it can lose its egoistic pretentions and contribute its rich resources to the major needs of a society growing daily more desperate. The confidence, poise and courage that come from a sure sense of one's roots and identity need an outlet worthy of their merit. But it must be an aim big enough to challenge the most hardy spirits.*

The life of Cleveland is a history of growth and the amalgamation of its ethnic communities. The City's brightest years were the years of expansion largely accomplished by the combination of the capital, talents, and hard labor of all its ethnic groups. To forget or obscure their role by allowing the ethnic neighborhoods simply to deteriorate is to deny Cleveland the well-spring of vitality that its past can be. As Ada Louise Huxtable recently wrote, "a city is not civilized without its past."*

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*"Ethnicity from the Perspective of the Sociology of Knowledge." Paper presented at the National Conference on Ethnicity, May 11-13, 1972, Cleveland State University, Institute of Urban Studies, Cleveland, Ohio.

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*Ada Louise Huxtable, "Farewell, Old New York." The New York Times Magazine, November 18, 1973, p. 102.

METHODOLOGY

1. Definitions

In this study the terms neighborhood, enclave, settlement and community are meant to represent the same basic concept: a group of people who settled in an area of the city and developed a degree of cohesion, general characteristics and community feelings different from any other group.

Similarly, the term ethnic does not represent only white immigrants but any group of people sharing the same identity as related or influenced by cultural, religious and/or language characteristics. In America, anyone expressing such ethnic affinity is part of a subculture which, amalgamated with others, produces the unique characteristics of the American culture.

While in a general sense all Americans are part of ethnic subcultures, in this study we take into account only those individuals and neighborhoods which visibly express an ethnic identity.

2. Selection of Neighborhoods

Selection of the four neighborhoods was influenced by the following guidelines:

a) An even representation between the east and west side of Cleveland,

b) Different socio-cultural backgrounds of neighborhoods (Latin-Slavic-Hungarian),

c) Variety of socio-economic problems, internal cohesiveness and/or physical deterioration, and

d) Some affinity to project directors: background and familiarity of respective cultures.

These criteria were employed in choosing the following neighborhoods:

a) East Side - Slovenian/Croatian neighborhood between St. Clair and Superior Avenue from East 55th to East 79th Streets (Ward 23),

b) East Side - Hungarian neighborhood along Buckeye, Woodland and Woodhill Roads, known also as East End Neighborhood House Area,

c) West Side - Italian neighborhood along Fulton Road (the Clark-Fulton Social Planning Area) better known as St. Rocco Parish, and

d) West Side - Puerto Rican neighborhood on Lorain Avenue between West 25th and West 50th Streets known as the Near West Side.

3. Project Implementation

The research was completed in five stages:

a) Organizational stage. A coordinator was selected for each neighborhood on the basis of his position of leadership or influence in the community.

The Project Directors and Coordinators jointly interviewed and selected teams of part time researchers for the neighborhoods. Preference was given to college students who were bilingual, living in the area, and knowledgeable of the people and problems. A total of 16 researchers were used, some working a few hours a week, others up to 15 hours. Two researchers received college credit given by the Institute of Urban Studies and Social Service Department of the Cleveland State University.

At Cleveland State University we established a coordinating center and a part-time secretary was hired.

b) Preliminary research. Each team was asked to prepare a list of twenty leaders from their respective neighborhoods. Once the lists were accepted by the coordinators and directors, researchers were asked to interview each community leader on existing neighborhood conditions and his projections for the future. On the basis of these interviews, each team prepared an analysis of the preliminary research.

c) Development of Survey Questionnaires. Based on the analysis from the preliminary study of leadership in the four neighborhoods, a survey questionnaire was developed with the help of coordinators and consultants. Rather than using different questionnaires for each neighborhood, it was decided to integrate into one questionnaire all questions relevant to each community.

Questions were divided into 11 sections.

Type of household
Age
Education
Ethnic Background
Employment
Income
Home ownership
Mobility
Church
Culture
Crime

The objective was not to emphasize a few crucial aspects of the communities but to examine a wide spectrum of issues related to neighborhood life. Follow-up studies are planned to concentrate on selected variables.

After consulting with the Computer Science Department of Cleveland State University, it was decided to develop a questionnaire which would permit the use of standardized answer sheets to simplify the process of coding and decoding the answers.

d) Survey. With the help of area property maps supplied by the City Planning Commission it was possible to mark homes to be interviewed by using the ratio of 1:10, or 1:25, depending on the size of the neighborhood. Special care was taken to survey streets with at least 25% of the homeowners being of the respective ethnic group. The first personal interviews were made in late May and continued during the Summer. Only households of the ethnic background were interviewed. If the marked house was multi-family, interviewers were asked to call on the owner; if not living in the house, the downstairs apartment was first contacted, then the upstairs. If no one in the house was a member of the ethnic community (under study) then the next house had to be contacted and so on. At times it was necessary to visit the same family twice. Only rarely were requests for a personal interview rejected.

Approximately 100 households were interviewed from each neighborhood.

Of the 800 homes from the St. Rocco neighborhood, 80 were interviewed. Of the 1,978 homes from the Hungarian neighborhood, 115 were interviewed. Of the 1,913 homes from the Slovenian neighborhood, 92 were interviewed. Of the 1,532 homes from the Puerto Rican neighborhood, 106 were interviewed.

The average length of time for each interview was about 1-1/2 hours. Each interview was recorded with a number which was then transferred to the neighborhood map. Each team interviewer also had its own code so that follow-up study of the same households and neighborhoods would be possible at a later date.

This part of the research was much more complex and difficult than expected. Some researchers, well known in the neighborhood, were reluctant to ask personal questions which forced them to resign.

Some of the streets or tracts which were listed by the 1970 census as heavily ethnic changed by 1973 forcing partial revisions of our own maps of the area. This was particularly true for the Puerto Rican and Hungarian communities.

This phase of the project was completed by October 1, 1973.

After all the answer sheets were checked for errors, the Cleveland State University Computer Center prepared printouts. Debugging was longer than expected and difficulties were encountered with the questions allowing for multiple answers. The Computer Center prepared five sets of printouts: one general for all neighborhoods, and four specific for each neighborhood. A cross tabulation of questions was also developed for possible further studies.

e) Analysis. Each team was asked to prepare a historical review of their neighborhood under the direction of one of the project's consultants in order to give a better perspective to the study. In addition, computer data were analyzed by each team for possible discrepancies or errors.

Based on the analysis of data, a number of policy recommendations were developed and a special study of foreign born and crime rates was undertaken.

The study was completed by March 1, 1974.

THE ETHNIC FACTOR IN THE CLEVELAND ECONOMY

1. Demographic Aspects

The development of the city of Cleveland from a village of 172 inhabitants in 1818 to a manufacturing and industrial metropolis in the 20th century is intimately connected with European immigration and internal migration. The earliest settlers to Cleveland were New Englanders attracted by the rich lands of the Western Reserve. After 1830, however, most of the newcomers were Northern Europeans. Demographic data for 1848 show that out of a total population of 13,696, Cleveland had 2,587 German, 1,007 English and 1,024 Irish immigrants while the rest (8,451) were native born.[1] Migrants from the German Empire continued to outnumber those from other parts of Europe until 1870. However, by 1880 people from Russia (mostly Jews), Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and other South-Eastern European countries, including Italy and Slovenia, began to arrive in increasing numbers. As the number of newcomers from Northern Europe declined and those from South-Eastern Europe rose, Cleveland was developing into a truly cosmopolitan city, a microcosm of all immigrant groups coming to America. The ratio of foreign born to native born remained almost stable at 1:2.

Such massive population movements from one continent to the other were mostly the result of two factors. On one hand, European economies were experiencing an oversupply of labor due to a sharp drop in death rates coupled with the transformation of production from agricultural to industrial. While on the other hand, Cleveland, and America in general, was continuously looking for new sources of capital and human investments to feed its own phenomenal economic growth.

It is perhaps no accident that the Northern European countries such as England, Scandinavian countries, Germany, and parts of Ireland, which experienced industrialization and land consolidation relatively early in the 19th century, supplied most of the labor force for the Cleveland economy up to 1880. When their economic conditions substantially improved, their surplus labor disappeared.

However, after 1880 Cleveland entrepreneurs needed new sources of cheap labor. They found it in Southern and Eastern Europe. To mention a typical example, when in 1880 the 1,700 mostly Irish workers at the Newburg Rolling Mill went on strike for a 25 cent weekly increase (from $11.75 to $12.00) and a work week of less than 84 hours, the owner and great Cleveland philanthropist, Amasa Stone, closed the factory and went on a world tour. When he stopped in Danzig, Poland, he offered Polish unemployed workers free passage to America on cattle boats and a weekly wage of $7.25. Many Poles could not resist the offer; they came by the thousands, settled on the undeveloped land which Amasa Stone owned next to the Newburg Rolling Mill, and started to work in 1882. By 1885, there were over 600 Polish families living near the mills. This marks the beginning of a new Polish neighborhood. (Only few of the unemployed Irishmen returned to the mill for $11.25 a week, 50 cents less than before the strike; the others, deeply resenting the new immigrants, applied for and found jobs in the Fire and Police Department of the City of Cleveland.)[2]

By 1924, Europe ceased to be a desirable and accessible labor reservoir for America. Under prodding from major segments of society, including industry, organized labor, academics, social and political reformers, and chauvinistic groups, and in an era of extreme anti-foreign and anti-radical feelings, between 1917 and 1927, the Federal government enacted immigration restriction legislation that closed the nation's doors to virtually every country of the world. Racist and discriminating against all nationalities except British, the government established an annual quota of 150,000 immigrants for the United States and allotted 80% of the total to Britain. Only in the 1930's and the era 1948-1956 was the enforcement of immigration restriction legislation eased to assist political and religious refugees escaping the Nazi and Fascist regimes and the Communist takeover of Eastern Europe, respectively. However, even these efforts were miserly at best, and most of the immigrants allowed to enter the United States were charged against future years' quota allotments for the various countries.[3]

The heavy demand for labor during the second World War and after, forced our businesses to look for new solutions to labor supply. Blacks and Puerto Ricans became attractive.[4] Like previous waves of immigrants, this one, too, produced structural and traumatic changes in population composition. As in the past, these migrants settled as close as possible to Cleveland's industrial belt influencing earlier settlers with higher levels of income to move further out. "Even the Northern Negro has given way before his brother who was brought up from the South during the war . . .; now protesting that he is unwilling to return to the (old) section because it is no fit place in which to rear his children."[5]

The great post-1940 Black migration to Cleveland, which increased the size of the Black community from 10% of the total population to almost 40% in 1970, affected most directly the inner city East Side white ethnic neighborhoods, by then stable and secure. Similarly, the Puerto Rican population which numbered only a few hundred in 1950, sharply increased in the 1960's and 1970's reaching a total of 25,000 by 1973. Their growth, in turn, is affecting most directly the West Side inner city neighborhoods.

With the decrease in job opportunities for unskilled labor, the spread of industries into the suburbs and south of Cleveland, the growth of inner city slums, the Cleveland population is declining. No major influx of immigrants is to be expected. The city has reached its adulthood.

Like other immigrant groups, the newly arrived Southern Blacks and Puerto Ricans, after a period of adaptation, have developed community consciousness and a desire for a degree of stability and security. The City is at the threshold of a new era in its own history. As shown by Maps 1, 2, and 3, Cleveland, in 1974, is still a heavily cosmopolitan community. Even though the ratio of foreign born to native born dropped to 1:5, the ethnic element, whether Anglo-Saxon, Latin, Slavic or Black, remains strong. In fact, in some areas we still find substantial concentrations of foreign born, up to almost 80% of the residents (see Map 2). Acculturation will continue to co-exist with ethnic pride, strengthening and refining Cleveland's cosmopolitan nature.

2. Economic Growth

Early Cleveland settlers were mostly farmers. Their interest, however, quickly changed to trade and transportation. Lake Erie and the surrounding rivers were natural outlets for the transportation of raw materials to the Atlantic coast. Trade influenced the development of coal mining, freestone, limestone, gypsum, iron ore, and lumbering. With the construction of the Ohio-Erie Canal in 1832 and harbor in 1846, grain traffic made Cleveland the leading Great Lakes trade center.[6]

All these activities attracted the most unusual variety of immigrants. In the beginning, they were forced to accept any job for any wage offered. Those who came as indentured workers or had their transportation fare advanced by recruiting agents had no choice.[7] They started at or near the bottom of the scale economically and socially. By 1880, a disproportionate number of South-Eastern European immigrants found employment in the construction of railroads and buildings, in the steel mills and in food distribution. Very few had white collar jobs. They were only weakly represented in any occupation that called for fluent English, advanced education, and familiarity with American business methods. In the 1880's and 1890's, their yearly incomes averaged $300.[8] It was not unusual for unskilled immigrant workers to earn 25 cents per hour, $4 per week for a work day of 14 hours, six days a week.

With an abundance of immigrant labor, at low cost to the employer, and an expanding economy, Cleveland grew rapidly. At the same time, immigrant laborers began to mark off various of the trades, services, and other economic functions they fulfilled as domains of particular ethnic groups. This phenomenon was a consequence of many factors, primary among them were adaptability of European skills and experience to particular kinds of work; a group's history of employment in a certain area; the operation of kinship networks, ethnic middlemen (padrone, clergy, foremen) and labor agents skewing immigrants toward occupations, and the inability to secure alternative employment due to discrimination, distance, proscriptive social custom, etc.

The Irish became famous as teamsters, hauling stone from the Berea quarries, as dock workers, manning the Cleveland harbor facilities, and as municipal employees (policemen, firemen). They built the Ohio and Erie Canal which sharply increased trade between Cleveland and the rest of Ohio.

The Germans specialized in farming, commerce, tool and machine shops, and, with the Czechs, monopolized the brewing industry. Some Czechs, settling along East 55th Street and Broadway, became the mainstay of the labor force on which Rockefeller built his oil empire. The Poles worked in the Berea quarries supplying the stone necessary for the construction of large downtown buildings, and in the expanding steel mills of the Cleveland industrial belt.

The Jews, coming largely from European urban centers, quickly applied their ingenuity in skilled trades, commerce and dominated the clothing industry.

Italians excelled in the construction industry from stone cutting to bricklaying. The local railroad system, city sewers and bridges were built by them. They dominated the restaurant business, wholesaling, chain grocery businesses, and trade unions. Today, their economic power in Cleveland is equal to the Anglo-Saxon and Jewish.

Slovenians and Slovaks were known as hard workers in machine shops, in skilled and supervisory positions. They can be found in any field of the Cleveland economy.

While World War I sharply increased the industrial and mass production industries, it was the Second World War which really gave the greatest impetus to the Cleveland economy, to individual initiative, and business diversification. However, in comparing the representative tracts of each ethnic neighborhood, we find that their original traits have not changed. Each ethnic community continued to excel in some areas of the economy.

3. Economic Development of Ethnic Communities

Immigrants coming to Cleveland had to face a strange world which had little or no understanding for their needs and problems. Their youth, energy, and desire to work were ready-made assets for the labor hungry economy. Almost all were poor and unable to communicate in English, in fact, some were illiterate even in their own language.

Residing close to the place of employment (steel mill, factory, or railroad yard), immigrants organized clusters of fellows from the same village, region, or nationality group. Within this circle they found security, assistance, a sharing of common experiences, and almost an extended family. As new immigrants joined the early nuclei, ethnic neighborhoods came into being offering most, if not all, the services necessary for a stable community. Those who settled close to the center of the city took over the homes of earlier immigrants who slowly moved away from their place of original settlement as their income improved. It is not unusual to find that the same enclave went through three to four different immigrant groups. The section between Woodland and Central - East 22nd and East 55th Streets - was built by the Germans and Irish in the 1850's, left to Jewish, Italian, and Slovak immigrants, and finally by 1930 was taken over by the Blacks. In other instances, where the enclave was established in the so-called rural areas of Cleveland, the original group to settle might still be the predominant ethnic group of that neighborhood, like the Hungarians on the upper Buckeye Road or the Poles on Broadway or in Berea.

In each enclave, one or more of the enterprising members opened a store, bar, or boardinghouse which became the meeting place for discussing common problems, learning about ways to get around in American society, and planning for the future of their own community.

Invariably, the first project to express the neighborhood spirit, solidarity, and enthusiasm was the construction of a church. Even today, the most important unifying force in all the white ethnic neighborhoods still is the parish. Within a radius of three or four blocks a number of towering churches representing vast expenditures by the immigrant groups exist. Despite the uneconomical nature of this investment, the churches were and still are centers of ethnic pride and neighborhood life.

Close to the church sprung up small stores, shops, theaters, national homes, offices, financial institutions, newspapers, and other businesses catering to the needs of the community. Almost invariably, next to the church, parish schools were built to educate neighborhood children and large halls were constructed for major social events.

In this way, ethnic communities became self-sufficient, offering all the services needed by their members. No wonder even today one can find older people who may be fluent only in their own language and might not yet have seen the East or West Side of Cleveland. Their life is centered around the neighborhood; employment is available in nearby factories; store owners speak in their own language and supply all the groceries, appliances, and furniture they need. Savings are deposited in their own financial institutions or invested in the family home. This explains their angry reactions and hostility against outsiders whether social agencies, government projects, or real estate developers: people who, in their view, represented a threat to the neighborhood stability, to their life style or possibly to their life savings invested in the family home.

City districts which suffered most were those which experienced "the endless trek of many peoples of different habits, customs, and standards of living . . ."[9] When neighborhoods changed hands from one ethnic group to another, there was no way to keep them stable.[10]

4. Major Business Contributions

The competitive free market economy was highly conducive to the development of individual initiative and ingenuity. While on one hand, aggressiveness and market competition, so foreign to many immigrant cultures, took advantage of those who were at the bottom of the economic scale, on the other hand, the peculiar traits and strengths of each immigrant group influenced the most enterprising ones to take advantage of the variety of opportunities offered by the growing Cleveland economy. New businesses were opened which created the diversified Cleveland economy.

To name a few:

Frank Catalano, Sr. came from Sicily with 50 other fishermen around 1870. After working for a short time for a railroad, he saved enough money to buy a wagon which he used to buy fruits and vegetables from nearby farmers; he then peddled these products from door to door. With this successful operation, he was able to save enough money to establish a wholesale fruit importing company through which he pioneered the introduction of Italian citrus fruits on Cleveland markets. One of Cleveland's largest grocery enterprises, Fisher-Fazio Foods, was founded three generations ago by the first Fazio who sold his wares from a push cart. Today, it is a multi-million dollar business.

Theodore Kundtz, a Hungarian immigrant, started a furniture store in 1890 which expanded into Kundtz Manufacturing Company. Later, it was reorganized into White Sewing Machine which is now a multi-billion dollar conglomerate known as White Industries. Sealey Mattress Company, Bailey Company, Ippolito Macaroni, Drenik Distributing and many other successful businesses were organized by local immigrants. Most of the local savings and loan associations were established by ethnic communities. Two Polish financial institutions, the Bank of Cleveland and Third Federal Savings and Loan are of major importance. The Bank of Cleveland was founded by Stanley Klonowski during the early 1900's and continues to serve the people of the neighborhood in which it was founded. Third Federal Savings and Loan, founded by Ben Stefanski in the 1930's, is one of the largest savings and loan organizations in the State, with branches in the various Polish neighborhoods in Cleveland and suburbs.

Some ethnic fraternal and insurance organizations which were founded or are now based in Cleveland have grown quite large and have operations chartered in several states. These include the Alliance of Poles in America, the First Catholic Slovak Union, and the KSKJ Slovenian Fraternal Organization.

Over 300 ethnic newspapers have been published in Cleveland since the 1840's. Some are over 70 years old. The Waechter und Anzeiger was founded in Cleveland in 1852 and is still being published; the Lithuanian paper Dirva is over 50 years old and has a readership extending over several surrounding states; the Slovenian daily Ameriška Domovina, was established in 1899 and is mailed to all the states of the union.

The city of Cleveland was born from economic opportunity, but it was conceived in cultural matrix. From the New England immigrants' intention to "civilize" the West until today, Cleveland's history has illustrated the power, significance, and essential character of ethnic identity and community in its development. Immigrant settlements developed into communities, and these were vibrant areas, strong and proud. They were the human component which interfaced with the technological and industrial dimensions of Cleveland's history in making the city a great center of industry and commerce. The immigrants' communities provided their peoples the stability and confidence to achieve remarkable cultural, social, and especially economic successes.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Orth, Samuel P. A History of Cleveland, Ohio. Vol. 1. The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., Cleveland. 1910. pp. 114-115.

[2] Callahan, Nelson J. "Role of the Pastor in an Ethnic Parish." Paper presented at the National Conference on Ethnicity, May 11-13, The Cleveland State University, Institute of Urban Studies, 1972. p. 3.

[3] Higham, John. "American Immigration Policy in Historical Perspective." Law and Contemporary Problems, and

Divine, Robert A. American Immigration Policy, 1924-1954. (New Haven, 1947).

[4] Rose, William Garison. Cleveland, The Making of a City. The World Publishing Company, Cleveland. 1950. p. 687.

[5] Navin, Robert Bernard. Analysis of a Slum Area. The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 1934. p. 34.

[6] Orth, op. cit., p. 112.

[7] Taylor, Philip. The Distant Magnet. Harper and Row, New York. 1971. pp. 92-102.

[8] Ibid., p. 188.

[9] Navin, Robert Bernard, op. cit., p. 33.

[10] Ibid., p. 34.

ETHNIC COMMUNITIES OF CLEVELAND

Based on 1970 U.S. Census data, the City of Cleveland has a total population of 750,903 of which 56,400 are listed as persons of foreign stock.* While in percentages there are fewer Clevelanders of foreign stock now than in 1960,** from its ethnic composition, Cleveland is more cosmopolitan than ever.

The "Report on the Location of Ethnic Groups in Greater Cleveland," published in 1973 by the Institute of Urban Studies, Cleveland State University, lists 59 different ethnic groups within the Cleveland area. Of these, nine have more than 30,000 and nineteen over 10,000 members.

The Black community with 287,871 members is by far the largest single ethnic group. It is followed by the Appalachians, Jews, Italians, Poles, Germans, Slovaks, Czechs, Slovenians, Hungarians, and Irish - to name the ten largest white ethnic communities. Most of the white ethnic population are from Slavic countries. In fact, two thirds of all the Slavic people in Ohio live in the Cleveland area. This represents approximately 17% of all Slavic groups in the United States.

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*The category, "foreign stock" includes foreign born and those of foreign and mixed parentage.

**The population of the City of Cleveland decreased in the decade from 1960 to 1970 by 14.3%; that is, from 976,050 by 125,147 to its 1970 level.

As observed by Dr. Bruce Beatie, Chairman of the Modern Languages Department at The Cleveland State University, "Cleveland is at once like Mississippi (38% of its population is Black) and like Massachusetts (33% of its population is foreign born or foreign parented). Yet, like no other urban area, it has a balanced polycultural mix with no single ethnic group being predominant. 'WASPS' or even second-plus generation 'Americans' are a distinct minority here."

There are various levels of white and Black ethnic concentrations in Cleveland. As shown by Map 2, the Slovenian-Croatian St. Clair neighborhood presently has the heaviest concentration of foreign stock in Cleveland, 76.6%. This is probably due to the large influx of Croatians from Yugoslavia during the last decade. However, there are rather substantial enclaves of foreign stock white ethnics in various sectors of the city and suburbs whether viewed in percentages (see Map 3) or in quartiles (see Map 2). Naturally, the greatest concentration of any ethnic group is found in the inner city Black neighborhoods where within some census tracts (see Map 4) almost 100% of the population is Black. Map 1 shows areas in which one single nationality group represents more than 25% of foreign stock.

Since in the past, inner city white ethnic communities largely have been ignored, this study attempts to shed some light on the present conditions and future prospects of a representative group of white ethnic neighborhoods. The continuous drain of young and old people, white and Black, from ethnic communities to the suburbs represents a loss to the Cleveland economy, slowly creating an imbalance in the educational and cosmopolitan mix which has been so rewarding to the city's growth.

What can be done to stop this trend - or, to view it from another perspective - is it possible to reverse it?

In order to answer these questions, an analysis of the reasons underlying the formation of Cleveland ethnic neighborhoods is necessary. Are such "raisons d'etre" still operative? If so, this knowledge can be utilized in planning for Cleveland's future. The following section seeks to examine the development of ethnic communities and their internal structures.

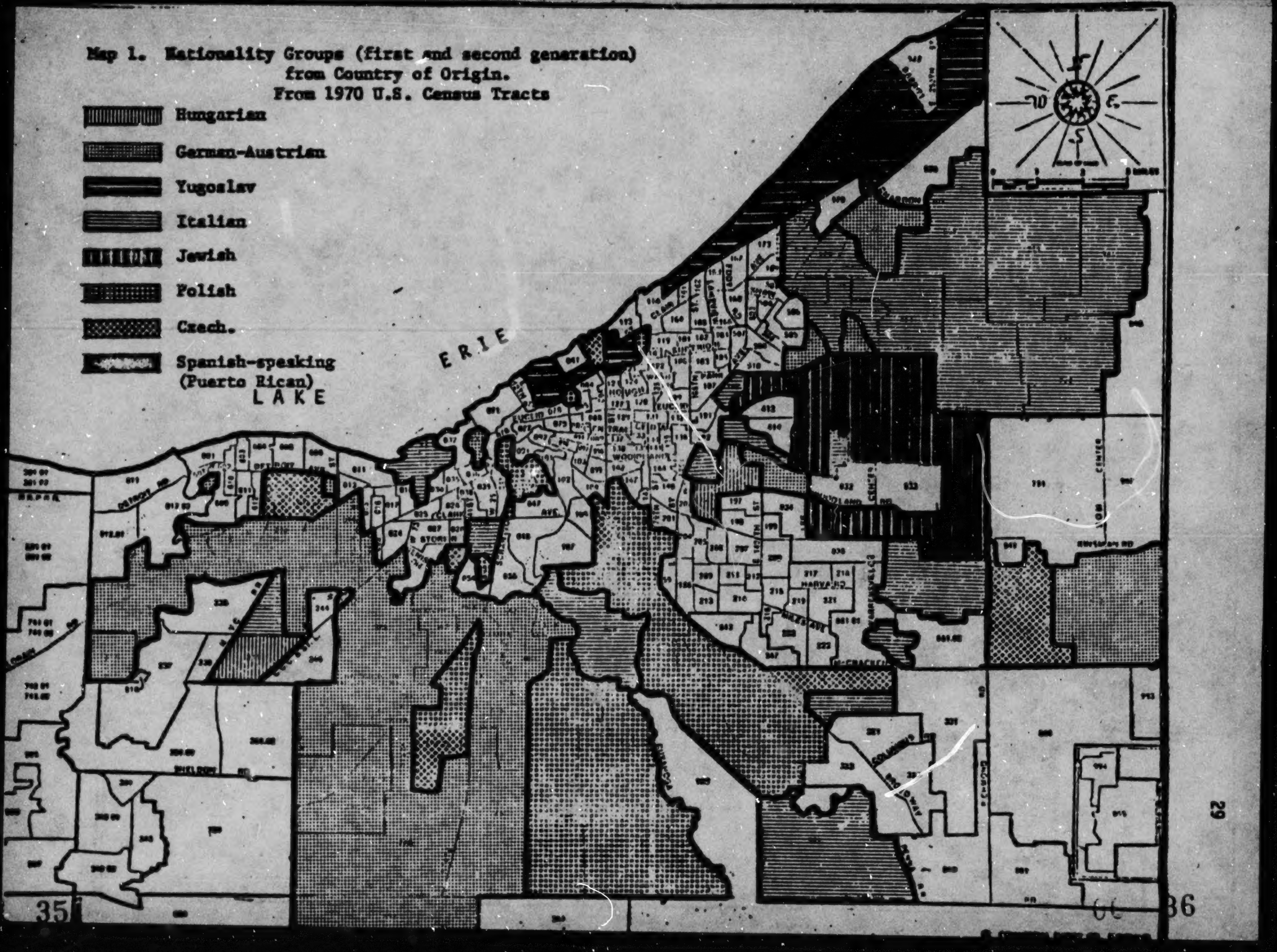
The four neighborhoods can be defined as follows:

a) The dying neighborhood spirit (The Buckeye Road Hungarian community). Because this is the most conspicuous example of an inner city neighborhood disintegration, and because of its historical importance, a greater emphasis was given to this community.

b) The aging neighborhood (The St. Rocco Italian community). No unusual or sudden events have influenced neighborhood life but lack of fresh blood and innovative projects produced its natural aging process.

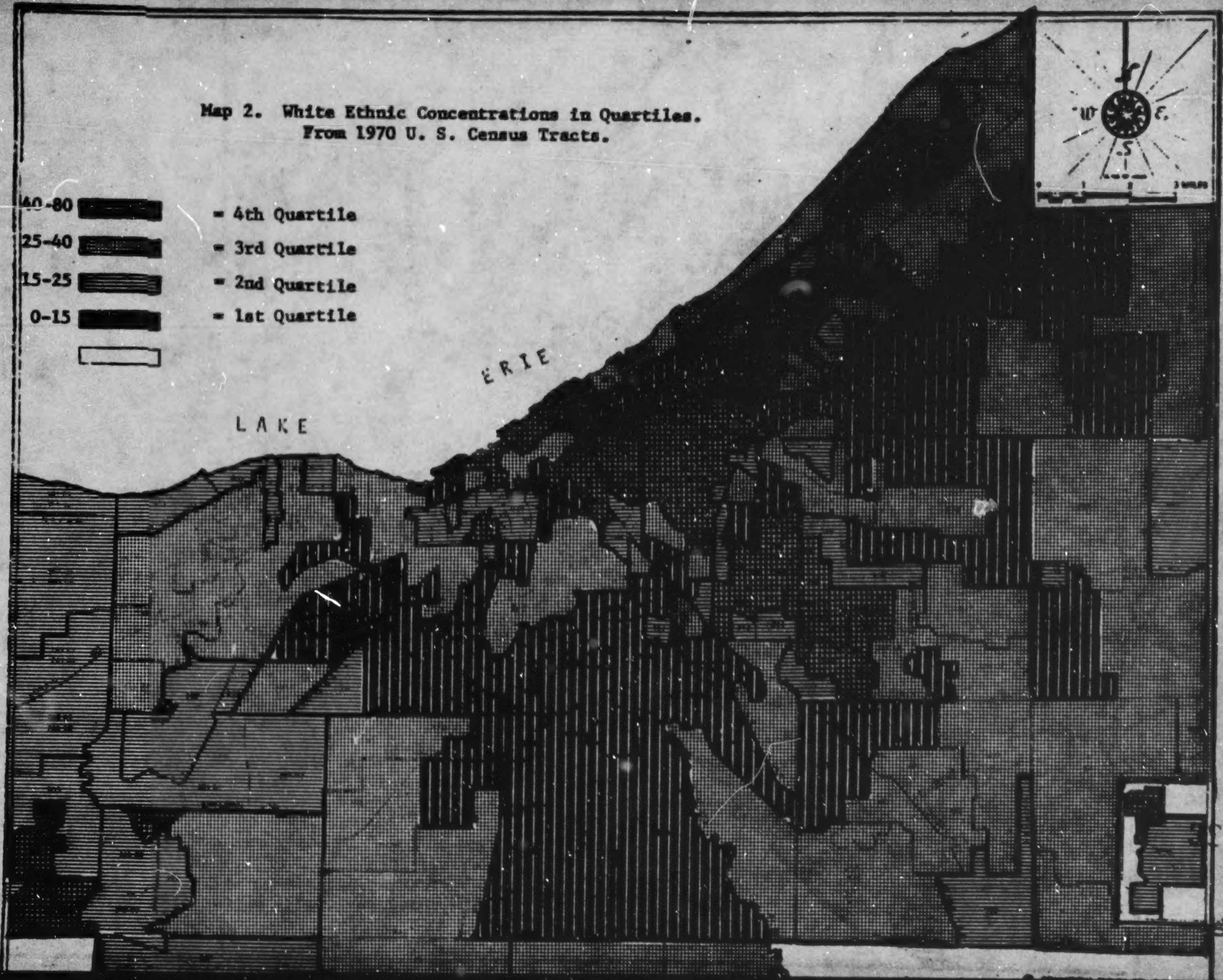
c) The white ethnic island (St. Clair Slovenian-Croatian community). Neighborhood pride and immediate adjustment problems of new immigrants have kept this enclave relatively stable against the pressures of the rapidly expanding Black community.

d) The birth of a neighborhood (Near-West Side Puerto Rican community). The last to arrive on the Cleveland scene, the Puerto Rican settlement is rapidly expanding and developing into a viable community on the Near West Side.



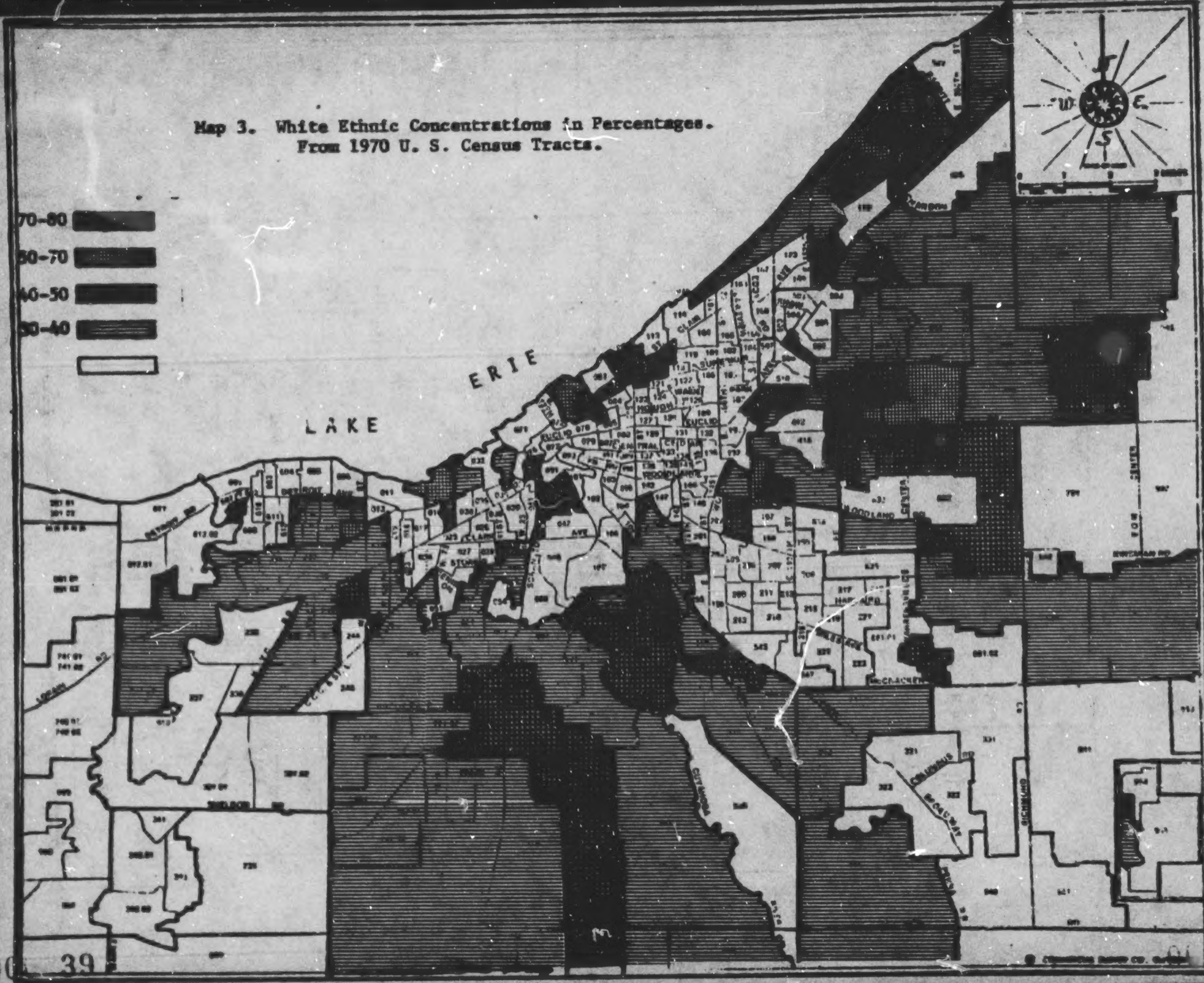
Map 1. Nationality Groups (first and second generation) from Country of Origin. From 1970 U.S. Census Tracts

▨ Hungarian
▨ German-Austrian
▨ Yugoslav
▨ Italian
▨ Jewish
▨ Polish
▨ Czech.
▨ Spanish-speaking (Puerto Rican)
ERIE
LAKE
N
W
E
S
EUCLID
HOUGH
WOODLAND
DETROIT AVE
HARVARD
BROADWAY
SHELDON RD



40-80 = 4th Quartile
25-40 = 3rd Quartile
15-25 = 2nd Quartile
0-15 = 1st Quartile
LAKE ERIE
N
W
E
S
0
1
2
3 miles

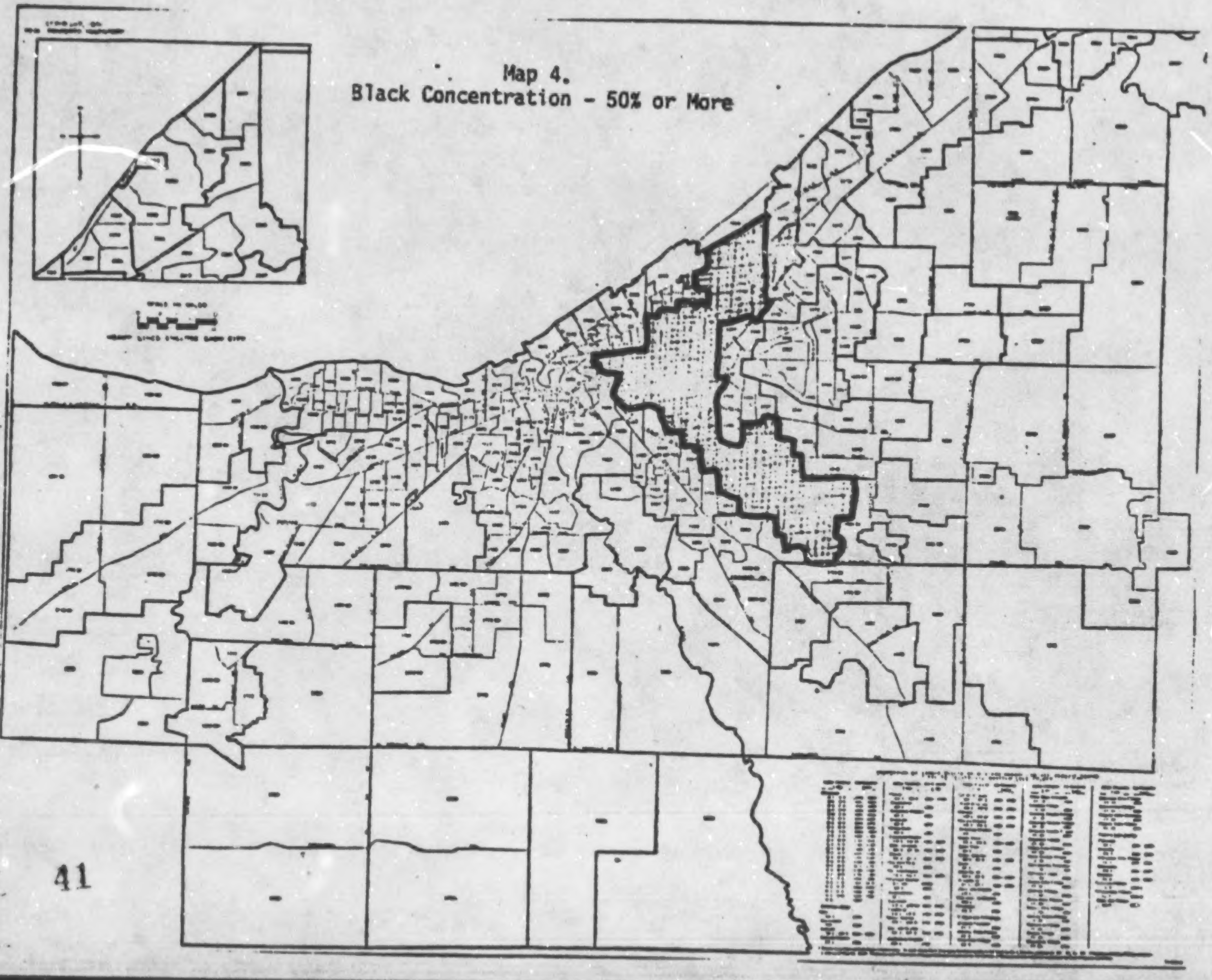
Map 2. White Ethnic Concentrations in Quartiles.
From 1970 U. S. Census Tracts.



Map 3. White Ethnic Concentrations in Percentages. From 1970 U. S. Census Tracts.

70-80 ▨
60-70 ▨
40-50 ▨
30-40 ▨
☐
LAKE ERIE
N
W
E
S
EUCLID
CENTRAL
CEDAR
WOODLAND
HARVARD
MILES
CUYAHOGA

Map 4.
Black Concentration - 50% or More



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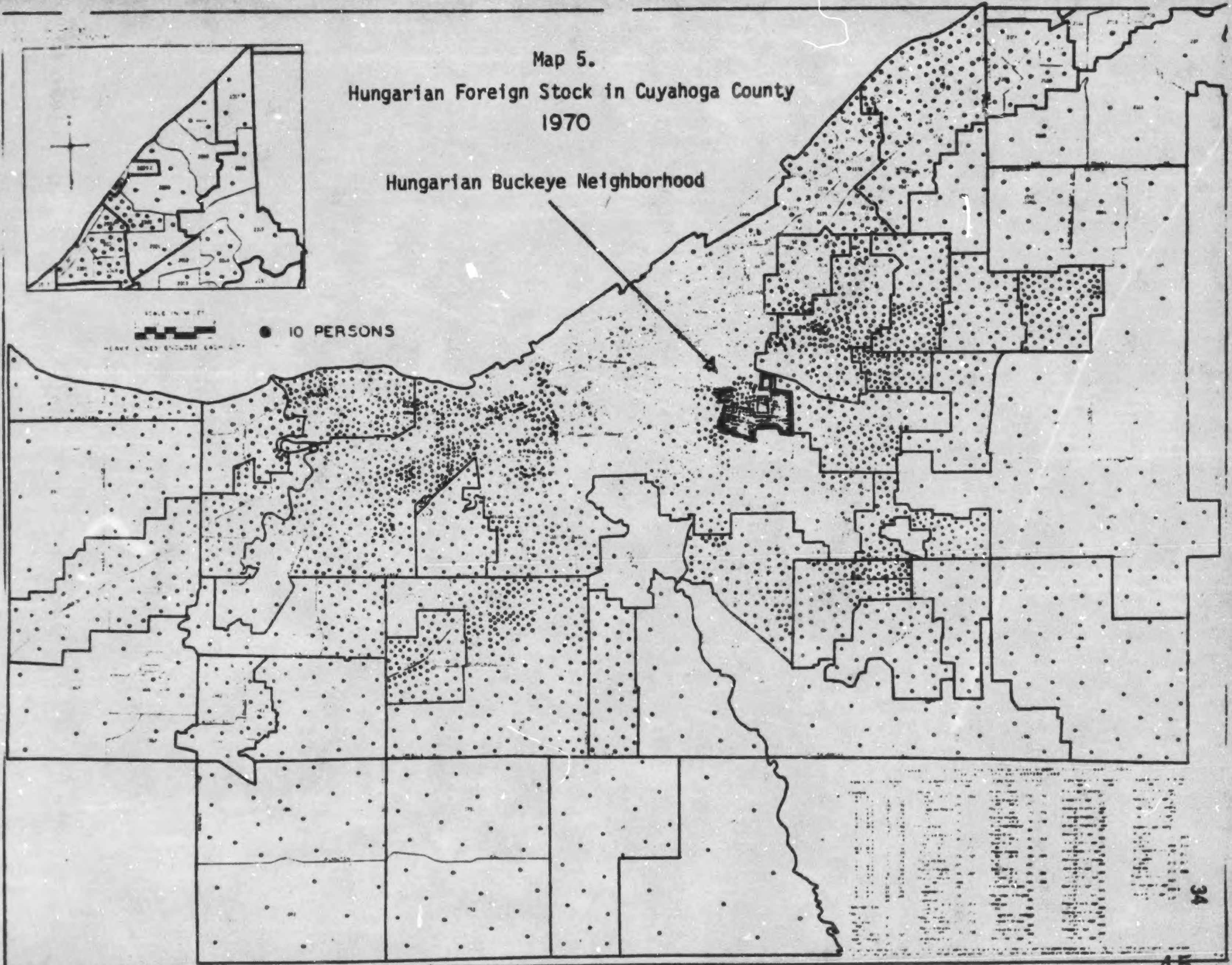
DEVELOPMENT OF THE FOUR NEIGHBORHOODS



Map 5.
Hungarian Foreign Stock in Cuyahoga County
1970

Hungarian Buckeye Neighborhood
● 10 PERSONS

(With permission of Real Property Inventory)

Development of the Hungarian Buckeye Neighborhood

Development of the Hungarian Community

In this survey Hungarian identity is premised essentially on the European history of the historical Kingdom of Hungary. The crowning of St. Stephen as King of Hungary on Christmas day in the year 1000 clearly pinpoints the day of Hungary's admittance into the Western family of nations. Since that time the geographic definition has remained virtually unchanged.[1] However, the people within this boundary changed homogeneity particularly after the withdrawal of the Turkish occupation.[2]

With the transformation of the Habsburg Empire into a dual monarchy, Austria-Hungary in 1867, the Magyars of Hungary again became the ruling group. The mass immigration to the United States and subsequently to Cleveland stems from the Austria-Hungary dual monarchy era.

In the United States, immigrants from the Kingdom of Hungary assumed identity as Magyars; thus, "Magyar" and Hungarian" have historically become synonomous and reference to Hungarians and Hungarian ethnicity herein maintains this historical fusion. Included also under the label "Hungarian" are those individuals who have chosen to identify themselves and make their associations Hungarian, i.e., individuals of non-Magyar background who claim Hungarian (Magyar) ethnic identity.

Cleveland has had one of the largest and most concentrated settlements of Hungarians in the world outside of historical Hungary. This settlement developed in the area which came to be known as "The Buckeye Neighborhood." Buckeye is a commercial street running through the Hungarian settlement from its western extremity to the eastern boundary (see Map 6).[3] From 1920 until about 1970, Hungarians here were, numerically, the dominant ethnic group.[4] The study which follows traces the development of this community from about 1867 to the year 1974.

Immigration

By 1872, there were over fifty Hungarian families scattered throughout Cleveland. They were mostly Jewish businessmen from upper Hungary.[5] While they were not the first settlers of what was to become the Buckeye neighborhood, their urban background and aptitudes proved to be of great service to the larger number of immigrants from rural villages who shortly settled in the Buckeye community. Among the first settlers who came with their families were David Black, Joseph Perley, Samuel Schweger and Joseph Black.

The Rural Villagers

In Hungary, the farmers lived in organized villages, their lands were located away from their homes and very likely, at several places. It was very difficult for a Hungarian villager of the late nineteenth century to increase his capital investment. If there were a number of young men in the family, it was obvious to many that the family holdings would not be enough to support everyone; emigration to the United States often provided the answer. Slovaks returning from America proved how much could be gained from a year or two in the mines and factories of the United States. This, coupled with encouraging ticket agents who could provide passage to the United States for only $25.00, enticed young villagers to try their fortune abroad.

The first villagers arrived in Cleveland in the 1880's. They settled in the original Hungarian Buckeye community in the vicinity of Rawlings and Bismark Streets. As more and more immigrants arrived from Europe, the original Hungarian colony expanded around Madison Street (now East 79th Street) and Woodland Avenue from about East 65th Street eastward. In the early years the immigrants found neighborhood employment with Eberhardt Manufacturing Company, Mechanical Rubber Works, National Malleable Steel Castings, Ohio Foundry, Standard Foundry, and Van Dorn Iron Works.[6] Some, like Szepessy Jozsef, Weiszer Janos, and Bartko Janos[7] became prominent businessmen in the city.

Prior to 1914, Hungarian immigrants were transient residents. Their primary purpose was to acquire working capital, about two hundred dollars, and return home as soon as possible. Most of those who arrived prior to 1914 managed to return.[8]

Thus, the Buckeye Community developed in phases. The period prior to 1914 properly can be called formative. The period of high Hungarian immigration occurred between 1870 and 1914. The peak years for immigration were the prosperity and, consequently, job demand years of 1892, 1896, 1903, and 1907.[9] In the slack or depression periods, many Hungarians returned to their homeland.

The foundations of all major religious, fraternal, social, and cultural organizations were laid during these formative years and in this period Buckeye Road became the main artery of the Hungarian colony. By the turn of the century as Hungarian immigrants continued to settle, the colony extended from East 65th Street to Woodhill and Buckeye, and from Quincy on the North Side to Kinsman on the South. In general, Hungarians moved into existing houses, sold by the Irish.[10]

The largest influx of immigrants to this community occurred in the year 1914 and not until 1948 was the same number reached again. The beginning of World War I cut off immigration, and in 1920, Hungary was partitioned with consequent economic disruptions. Hungarians could not or would not return to a destitute Hungary after 1920, while after 1920, immigration was virtually stopped by the Federal legislation. Yet, in all, the number of Hungarians returning to Hungary about equalled the number arriving in this country for the next thirty-four year period. After 1920 these "stranded" Hungarians built a Hungary away from home, extending their community east along Buckeye Road. At this time, too, efforts were made to construct churches, social and fraternal club houses. Between 1920 and 1930, the residential section of upper Buckeye were extended eastward to Shaker Heights. By 1930 the Buckeye neighborhood had reached its maximum physical extension, and, with the exception of the westernmost census tracts, remained virtually unchanged until 1960.[11] The immigrants of the pre-1914 era from the Austro-Hungarian empire gave Buckeye its character and image. Between 1948 and 1952, the Buckeye community hosted a new wave of immigration comprised of Displaced Persons from Hungary. Another unexpected surge took place in 1957 as a result of the Hungarian revolution of 1956.

Therefore, the history of the Buckeye community can be divided into the following periods:

1880-1920	- the formative years
1920-1930	- the period of expansion (geographic and capital investment)
1930-1965	- period of stability
1965-present	- period of decline (demographic and community dynamics)

The discussion of the histories of various community indices which follows will refer to these periods.

Organizational History

Chronologically, the formation of fraternal organizations was the first effort at group activity. Like most similar societies initiated by immigrants, the fraternal organizations arose from a desire to be assured of medical aid, financial assistance, and proper burial. Several immigrants would join together and pledge specific cash contributions to be made regularly. Officers were elected by members. The boardinghouse was normally the center of the organization. Most societies, during the formative period, were not long lived because of the transient nature of Hungarian immigrants. Since they planned to stay only long enough to accumulate money, they were not thinking in terms of long-range organizational planning.

The first permanent self-aid society was organized in 1885 by Dr. Handler Zsigmond and Deutsch Marton. It was called the Groff Batthyanyi Lajos Segely Egylet (Count Louis Batthanyi Assistance Society).[12] Other early societies were: the United Hungarian Societies organized in 1898 and chartered in 1901, and the American Hungarian Federation organized in 1906 by Kohanyi Tihamer.

The first efforts at uniting the Hungarians was made in Cleveland in 1887. Initiated by Weinberger Mor, it was promoted locally by Baracs Henrik, editor of the Hirmondo, and finally realized by Kohanyi Tihamer.[13] It is interesting to note that Cleveland Hungarians were the first nationality group to form a national civic organization. By 1910, there were eighty-one Hungarian societies in Cleveland, most of which were located in the Buckeye neighborhood.[14] The following constitutes a partial list of organizations formed prior to 1927:*

---

*Sources: "Hungarians in America," p. 31, published by Szabadsag, 1941.

Name	Date Organized	Membership 1973	Type of Organization
American Hungarian Federation (Amerikai Magyar Szovetseg)	1906		organizational civic
American Hungarian Catholic Society (Amerikai Magyar Katolikis Egylet)	1893	4,000	fraternal
American Hungarian Reformed Federation (Amerikai Magyar Reformatus Egylet)		4,500	fraternal
American Hungarian Women's Aid Society	1922		charitable
American Hungarian Szekely Federation			civic-social
Cleveland Hungarian Youth Society			
East Side Hungarian Republican Club			political
First Hungarian Reformed Youth Fraternal Society			fraternal
East Side Hungarian Singing Circle		ceased	cultural
Cuyahoga County Hungarian Democratic Club			political
First Hungarian Reformed Women's Aid Society			charitable
Hungarian Civic Club			civic
Hungarian Better Business Association			business
First Hungarian Widows and Widowers Club			social
Miklos Zrinyi Women's Sick Benefit Society			fraternal
Midnight Pleasure Club	1917	ceased	social
Magyar Club			social
Martin Luther Aid and Church Society			fraternal
Prince St. Emery Roman Catholic Men's and Women's Fraternal Association			fraternal
St. Stephen Dramatic Society	1904	active	cultural
St. John Greek Catholic Men's and Women's Sick Benefit Society			fraternal
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners			civic-social
Veterans of Foreign Wars	1918	ceased	civic-social
Verhovay Br. 14	1897	3,000	fraternal
Woodmen of the World (Hungarian Br.)	1903		fraternal
Workers Fraternal Association Br. 2 and 50			fraternal

Name	Date Organized	Membership 1973	Type of Organization
Szatmar County Aid Society			fraternal
Szatmar County German Speaking Self Aid Circle			fraternal
29th Ward Hungarian Republican Club	1922	132	political
Hungarian Business and Tradesmen's Club	1923		social
St. Stephen Baseball Club	1922		sport
St. John Soccer Club	1916		sport
Woodland Avenue Bath House	1914	ceased as Hung.	sport
Rakoczi Aid Society	1920		fraternal

Note: These represent Buckeye neighborhood societies, and by no means all of them.

The following are Buckeye neighborhood Hungarian organizations formed primarily in response to the needs caused by the Depression:

Name	Date Organized	Maximum Membership	Membership 1973	Type of Organization
Hungarian Workingmen's Home	1930 (?)		ceased	civic, social
29th Ward Democratic Club	1929	300	59	political
Oreg Amerikas Csaladja (Old Settlers)	1931	3,000	1,400	burial, social
Jotekonycelu Noi Nagy Bizottsag (Ladies' Aid Society)	1933		115	charitable
Small Home Owners' Association (Kiss Haz Tulajdonosok)	1930	100	ceased	self aid, civic
16th and 29th Ward Welfare Club	1933		ceased	self aid, civic

In addition to the above, there were many temporary organizations formed under the auspices of churches and fraternal societies. These were mostly collection or distribution agencies of the parent organization, and are not listed. Most churches and fraternal associations were very involved in self aid activities of some sort, including "soup kitchens."

*Societies formed during the period 1940-1955. These were stable, prosperous years for the Hungarian Buckeye neighborhood.

Name	Date Organized	Maximum Membership	Membership 1973	Type of Organization
Aubau Megyesi Klub (Abauer's Club) from county of Abau	1948		50	social
American Legion Buckeye Post 599	1947	240	172	civic, social
Buckeye Boys	1950 (?)		ceased, 1970	sport-teenagers
Arthur Borgey Boy and Girl Scout	1951		200	scouting
Committee for Hungarian Liberation	1955			civic
East End Neighborhood House, Hungarian Golden Agers	1955 (?)		40	social
Dunantuly Egysesulet (Western Hungarians)	1948		104	social
Hungarian Self Aid and Cultural Society	1950		45	social
Szabolcs Megyesi Klub (Szabolcsian Club) from county of Szabolcs	1950		45	social
Gomor Megysesi Klub (Gomorian Club) from county of Gomor	1942	180	138	social
Verhovay Bowling Club	1949		ceased, 1964	sport

With the decline of the Hungarian population, and fear of crime in the community, there was a decline of all Hungarian activities in the Buckeye neighborhood in the late 1960's. The only Hungarian oriented organization to be formed during this period was by second generation Hungarians: The Buckeye Home Improvement

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*Assembled by Joseph J. Horvath.

Association, with a membership of about 200 families. In 1964, its name was changed to "The Buckeye Neighborhood Nationalities Civic Association," with membership composed of Hungarian Slovaks. With new leadership and orientation, the BNNCA swiftly grew to a membership of 700 families.[15] It was a new concept in the neighborhood. Rather than being strictly Hungarian oriented, it became neighborhood oriented while still seeking to encourage Hungarian nationality life. The BNNCA was the last Hungarian organization formed and it was born out of a new type of crisis.

Since 1970, there have been five significant institutional efforts at solving problems of the Buckeye area: The Community Relations Board, the East End Neighborhood House, the Buckeye Area Development Corporation, the East End Community Development Foundation, and the Buckeye-Woodland Catholic Community Council.[16]

The Community Relations Board, a governmental effort, has maintained a field office in the Buckeye area. The Black leaders of this office, however, had few contacts and limited rapport with Hungarians so that its involvement has been confined to participation in a community wide cultural fair sponsored by the Board.

The East End Neighborhood House, funded by United Torch, offers a variety of social services, but has served Black people rather than Hungarians in recent years. A change in community participation occurred when this organization opened a Multiservice Center on Buckeye Road in approximately 1971 and included bilingual services, which appealed to elderly Hungarian people.

Both community development corporations, the Buckeye Area Development Corporation and the East End Community Development Foundation, are to some extent supported by area businessmen. The latter predominantly serves Black residents of the lower Buckeye area, particularly with housing problems. The Buckeye Development Corporation has been active in a variety of projects. It has encouraged establishment of new businesses and helped stabilize old ones, has initiated urban beautification and youth programs and has organized an auxiliary police unit. The Community Development Department of Cleveland provided Federal funds for some of these activities, but the backbone of the organization is Hungarian businessmen.

The Buckeye-Woodland Catholic Community Council is a church-based Catholic umbrella organization of united Hungarian, Slovak, and Italian parishes in the area. Its programs include a Catholic Community Kindergarten, educational and recreational opportunities for youth, a Housing Task Force concerned with countering block-busting, deterioration, and the provision of a non-profit community rental matching service. In 1973, a highly successful Community Food Cooperative was organized which helped stretch family budgets.

By late 1973, all five institutional efforts were thriving and making further determined attempts to extend services and increase community involvement.[17]

The Business Community

Prior to World War I, the Hungarian retail business establishments were located on East 79th Street and Holton Avenue. In this area by 1915 there were:[18]

Stores	Number
Candy	3
Clothing	4
Grocery and Meats	8
Hardware	2
Mover	1
Photography	1
Real Estate and Travel	3
Saloons	5

During this period the Hungarians were moving toward and up Buckeye Road. At that time the lower Buckeye area had large numbers of Irish residents.

After the war, as permanency of settlement became the norm, the Hungarians moved eastward along Buckeye, built permanent residences, and established many more businesses. By 1925, the Hungarians had extended business establishments to the following streets:

East 79th Street, Platt Avenue to Kinsman
Woodland, East 65th Street to about Woodhill
Entire length of Buckeye Road
Woodhill from Woodland to Kinsman
East 111th Street, Buckeye to Soika
East 102nd Street, Buckeye to Dickens
Holton Avenue

The following is a list of businesses that became more or less permanent by 1925 and remained virtually unchanged until about 1960:[19]

Hungarian or Hungarian Supported Stores
(Buckeye Neighborhood, excluding Woodland east of Woodhill)

Type of Business	1925-1960	Today-1973
Appliances	3	2
Attorneys	4	0
Auto Parts	3	0
Bakery	8	5
Barbers	17	3
Blacksmith	1	0
Builders	4	0
Bowling	3	0
Beauty Parlor	8	3
Butcher and Grocery	20	7
Candy Store	18	2
Clothing	8	3
Costume Shop	1	0
Dairy	4	0
Doctors	12	3
Dentists	10	2
Drug Store	9	2
Dance Halls	7	1 (non-church)
Florist	5	2
Furniture	4	2
Furnace	2	1
Funeral	5	2
Flooring	3	1
Glass	3	1
Greeting Card	1	1 (since 1950)
Gas Station	23	3
Hotel	1	0
Hardware	10	2
Hungarian Imports	2	3 (since 1950)
Jewelry	6	0
Lumber	2	1
Musical	2	1
Movie Houses	5	0
Movers	4	0
Photo	3	1
Paint	1	1
Printing	2	1
Plumbing	4	1
Pool Room	5	1
Poultry	2	0
Restaurant	10	5
Real Estate	10	2
Travel	4	2
Shoe Store	10	2
Sporting Goods	1	1
Shoe Repair	8	1
Saloons	20	8

Tailors	7	0
Tin Shop	2	1
Tombstone	1	0
Upholsterer	3	1
TOTAL	311	76

In addition to businesses located on main streets, there were individual stores and retail establishments at virtually every street intersection in the community. By 1973, business establishments were limited to Buckeye Road and several on Woodland both extending from East 116th Street to about East 130th Street. Buckeye businesses are almost exclusively Hungarian and only those are listed on the chart. As Blacks moved in and became dominant in a census tract, most Hungarian-oriented businesses ceased to exist. Only in a few instances were they taken over by Blacks, or became oriented toward trade with Blacks.

The sharp increase in crime during the past five years frightened many individual store operators whose businesses were located at isolated street corners into giving up their establishments. Stores on lower Buckeye and Woodhill, in most cases, ceased to exist. Most of them are empty and boarded up. It is only upper Buckeye between East 116th Street and East 130th Street which still retains the Hungarian "flavor." Even in this stretch, quality stores such as furniture (Londons and Doan) have given up, and all jewelry stores have moved or quit because of crime danger. In their place, used clothing or used furniture stores were set up, or the lots were simply left vacant. Chain stores, which could not survive in the past, now are meeting with some success.

Pick N Pay supermarket is one and Fisher's supermarket on lower Buckeye is another. Woolworth, the only chain variety store to survive in the Hungarian neighborhood, is still operating.

Hungarians tend to treat a shopping visit as a social visit as well and pay cash for purchases. Blacks tend to support chain stores, clothing stores, and auto parts and auto repair businesses.

The only family businesses which do thrive are those which are Hungarian-oriented such as butcher shops, restaurants, skilled crafts, and the saloons Hungarians frequent. Much of the trade for Hungarian oriented businesses comes from former neighborhood residents who moved to the suburbs. They return on weekends or during the week to pick up their Hungarian foods such as meats and pastries. Many non-Hungarian suburbanites and residents from the apartments around Shaker Square who like Hungarian foods will also shop at these stores or eat at Hungarian restaurants.

For those remaining, business is good, partly due to adding a service orientation to a strictly sales operation. Many of the businessmen have only a few more years until retirement, and it appears their goal is to keep going as long as they can.[20]

Hungarian Newspapers*

Hungarian literacy was very high from the beginning. Consequently, newspapers which carried articles about the homeland, as well as describing American life, were popular with the Hungarian reader. The following were published locally:

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*Most information was supplied by Dr. Geza Szentmiklosy, team member.

Szabadsag

Founded in 1891 by Kohanyi Tihamer. Present owner and publisher is Zoltan Gombos. It has contributing writers from around the world.

Circulation:	1920	60,000 daily
	1930-1940	39,315 daily
	1940-1950	24,612 daily
	1950-1960	20,734 daily
	Today	12,000 weekly

Magyar Hirmondo

Founded in 1902 by Dr. Henry Barach and Emery Fesco. This newspaper was in competition with the *Szabadsag*, but failed and merged with the *Szabadsag* after two years.

Katholikus Magyarok Vasarnapja

Founded in 1893 by Msgr. Charles Boehm. Currently, it has a weekly circulation of 3,400. Its publishing office was moved from Cleveland to Youngstown, Ohio, in the 1960's. It represents the Roman Catholic view.

Az Ujsag

Founded in 1920 by Louis Tarcai. This was a Buckeye neighborhood newspaper whose editor and publisher was much involved in Hungarian neighborhood life. This newspaper represented a socialist view, but quite independently. It was sold in 1965 to Father Kotai and now represents a Catholic Hungarian viewpoint. Estimated circulation, 1,400.

A Jo Pasztor

Catholic Hungarian newspaper; no longer published.

Az Otthon

No information.

Dongo

A comical and satyrical newspaper; no longer published.

Uj Elore

A leftist newspaper published in the Depression era; estimated circulation 3,500.

Verhovay (Now **William Penn**)

A fraternal publication received by members. Local reading public 1,000.

Reformatusok Lapja

A newspaper of the Hungarian Reformed Church. Published in English and Hungarian. Estimated local circulation 500.

Buckeye Press

A local business newspaper. Published at one time in English and Hungarian; today English only. Founder, J.P. Russell. Estimated circulation 5,000.

In addition to the above, most Hungarian churches publish Hungarian Bulletins locally.

Other newspapers are published outside of Cleveland and the United States, but are locally distributed and read in Cleveland Buckeye:

Magyar Hirek	Published in Budapest; circulation 1,500.
Magyar Szo	Published in New York; circulation 150.
Nemzetor	Published in Vienna; Cleveland East Side circulation 100.
Szittyakurt	Published by Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation; estimated circulation 100.
Mecses	
Karpat	Monthly magazine published by Father Kotai.
Vilag	
Eros Var	

More than twenty newspapers and magazines, published from Australia to France and South America, are also sold and read locally.

In general, Hungarians do not have dual language publications. They will subscribe to Hungarian newspapers for their Hungarian content and subscribe to American newspapers for the local and national news.

A flourishing Hungarian book store, a well stocked Hungarian section at the Rice Public Library, and a store which sells only Hungarian recordings attest to the still active cultural interest, but Hungarian periodicals now cater to the post-1950 immigration. Readers of the old Austro-Hungarian group are rapidly declining in numbers and it seems the second generation (American born) generally do not read Hungarian newspapers.

Theaters and Halls

An important characteristic of Hungarian immigrants was their love for theatre, music and dancing. Consequently, the Hungarian community established and supported a large number of theaters and halls. In general, movie theaters were patronized by Hungarian youth, whereas everyone patronized the plays, concerts, banquets, and dances. All churches had their own hall facilities. The facilities listed below are those which were privately owned or owned by a fraternal or social organization.

Plays were presented by neighborhood talent, although national acting troupes or virtuosos would frequently appear. Imported Hungarian movies were shown primarily at the Moreland Theater, although the Regent Theater and other halls occasionally showed them as well.

Church and club halls were scenes of many banquets, dances, concerts, plays, lectures, forums, meetings, both civic and political, bazaars, and card parties.

The most important events were:

Grape Harvest Festival (most major societies and churches)	
1940 - 6 churches	1973 - 1 church
1940 - 6 societies	1973 - 1 society
New Years Eve Dance	
1940 - 5 churches	1973 - none
1940 - 6 societies	1973 - 1 society
Hungarian Picnics	
1940 - 4 churches	1973 - 1 church
1940 - 10 societies	1973 - none
Plays and Concerts	
1940 - 12 est.	1973 - none
Banquets	
1940 - 20 est.	1973 - av. 1
Hungarian Wedding Dances (using halls)	
1950 - 100 est.	1973 - av. 1

The above list illustrates the demise of the major social activities. This is particularly a social tragedy because they were family affairs in which all generations participated with equal interest and vigor. A typical scene was the grandparents dancing on the same floor as the grandchildren. At the Harvest festivals colorful costumed children, teenagers, and often adults as well, presented folk dances. The average number of participant dancers was about 100. The average attendance at a dance would be about 500. The same numbers and generations attended the New Years Eve dances and the Hungarian picnics.

Harvest festivals and sometimes picnics were preceded by colorful parades of costumed participants. They would traverse the length and breadth of the community with Hungarian music and announcements playing over the loudspeakers. Often political or civic parades would use the same techniques. In 1973, none of these parades took place. The only civic parade remaining is the St. Stephen's Day Parade sponsored by a civic group.

The demise of these activities coincided with the decline of the Hungarian residential population. In 1969, an attempt was made to re-activate the Hungarian playhouse which operated daily in the 1930's. Despite major redecoration and renovation,[21] it failed because potential patrons feared venturing out in the evening or parking in the vicinity. The playhouse closed in 1971.

Today, when an actor, troup or orchestra visits the Hungarians of Cleveland they will perform on the far West Side or in a Southwestern suburb, far removed from the crime which has enveloped the Buckeye neighborhood.

Afternoon card parties are about the only activity which remains in the community. Once in a while there is a spring dance or a heritage day display at some local churches. A few major activities have moved from the Buckeye neighborhood but most have ceased completely.

The following list of movie houses and halls were operating during the Hungarian era in the Buckeye neighborhood:*

Theaters and Movies		Period	Condition Today
Movies:	Apollo Theater	1915-(?)	demolished
	Angela Theater	1915-(?)	demolished
	King Theater	1915-(?)	demolished
Theaters:	National Theater	1900-1935	damaged freight store
Presenting both:	Moreland Theater	1929-1971	closed
	Regent Theater	1923-1964	demolished

Private or Lodge Halls	Use+	Period	Condition Today
East End Neighborhood House	1,2	1950-1965 (?)	not used by Hungarians
Ivan Hall	2	1910-1950	vacant
Magyar Haz	1,2	1900-1920	demolished
Munkas Otthon	1,2,3	1930-1950	church for Blacks
Ifjusagi Hall	1,2,3	1920-1973	church for Blacks
Szabo Hall (later Verhovay Home)	1,2,3	1910-1965	Black fraternal organization
St. Stephen's Hall	1,2,3	1906-now	Occasionally used
Woodmen of the World Hall	1,2,3	1920-1955	Church for Blacks
SMA Club	2,4	1940-1970	Privately owned

Church Halls++	Use	Period	Condition Today
St. Elizabeth	1,2,3	1918-now	Unused
St. John	1,2,3	1939-now	Seldom used
St. Margaret	1,2,3	1928-now	In use
Bethlen Hall	1,2,3	1935-now	In use
Kossuth Hall	1,2,3	1948-now	In use
First Hungarian Presbyterian Church Hall	1,2	1920-now	In use
Shaker Square Hungarian Baptist Church	1,4	1940-now	In use
Sumrey Hadath	1,4	1923-1973	Church for Blacks

+ 1-meetings, 2-dances, 3-plays, 4-socials

++ Store fronts and old church halls are not listed for lack of data. Most dates stated are approximations.

This list is not complete, but it does represent most of the halls and theaters of the Buckeye community which were used by Hungarians.

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*Assembled by J.J. Horvath, J. Chelenko and John Palasics.

Churches

Perhaps no other institution so typifies the Hungarian's ethnic life as his interest in his churches. The Hungarians have all denominations of western religions. The majority are Roman Catholic. Reformed (Calvinist), Lutheran, Jewish, Baptist, Presbyterian, Greek Catholic, and other denominations are also present in the Hungarian community. Although the histories of the following groups are not a matter of writtern record at this time, other religious groups in the community were: Seven Day Adventists, Unitarians, Bethany Church, and Jehovah Witnesses.

The Buckeye neighborhood was the scene of the first Hungarian Roman Catholic parish in the Western Hemisphere, the first Hungarian Greek Catholic parish, and the first Reformed parish. It was also the site for the first Hungarian church building of any denomination, the first Hungarian Reformed Church. Cleveland was the leader and set the example for other Hungarian communities across the nation. The early churches were the center of much ethnic life. Schools and classrooms were used both for religious and Hungarian studies. Hungarian language instruction was available for youngsters at most of them either during regular school hours, or during the summer time. By 1950, however, much of the teaching had been eliminated. Hungarian liturgy at the Roman Catholic churches also has been pushed into the background.

Saint Elizabeth Hungarian Roman Catholic Church. The first attempt to build a Catholic Church was made jointly with the Slovaks. It was named Saint Ladislas and was located on Corwin Avenue at Holton (East 92nd and Holton). The church was completed in 1888. However, as a result of difficulties with other Slavic groups, it was necessary for the Hungarians to withdraw and form their own parish.[22] For their contributions to the building of Saint Ladislas, the Hungarians were given $1,000 toward their new church. The parish assembled for the first time on December 11, 1892 at St. Joseph Asylum on Woodland Avenue.[23] This is the date of the establishment of the first Hungarian Catholic parish in North America.

The present church was begun in 1918 on Buckeye Road at East 90th Street, the site of the old church. With the nave seating 1,300 persons, it is the largest Hungarian Roman Catholic Church in North America and can be regarded as a national monument.

Currently operating parish organizations are:[24]

Holy Name Society
Blessed Virgin Mary Society
Rosary Sodality
Szent Anna Egylet
Sacred Heart Society
St. Vincent DePaul

The following reasons are mentioned for the decline of the parish:[25] changing neighborhood, lack of school, fear of Blacks, and failure of urban renewal.

Hungarian School
(part of St. Elizabeth parochial school)

Year	Number
1930	600
1940	500
1950	60
1960	40
1970 (1965)	closed

Church

Maximum enrollment: During the decade from 1930-1940, total enrollment ranged between 8,000 and 10,000.

1973, enrollment 400. Of this number 80 persons are older people studying the Hungarian culture. They live in the community; the rest live in the suburbs.

Total Baptisms: 11,952 during the past fifty years. Total Marriages: 3,652 since 1892.

Saint John The Baptist (Hungarian Greek Catholic Church, located at Ambler and Buckeye Road). On January 6, 1893, Reverend John Csurgovics celebrated the first mass of the parish. The parish began with forty families and was the first Hungarian Greek Catholic (Catholics of Byzantine rite) parish in North America. The original church building was located on Rawlings Avenue. In 1908, a new church was constructed at Buckeye and Ambler and facilities were extended to include a new social hall on church grounds in 1908 and again in 1939. In October 1954, the old church was torn down and a new one built. During the same year, the first Greek Catholic Hungarian Parish school in the United States was constructed. Many of the achievements since 1950 are due to the efforts of the present pastor, Father Alexander Bobak, who also initiated the construction of the shrine of Maria Pocs in Troy, Ohio.

The following is a list of active clubs as of 1967:*

Altar Society
Rosary Society
Holy Name Society
PTU
Szent Ilona Egylet (lodge)

Saint John Sick Benefit Society
Saint John School
Knights of the Altar
BVM Sodality
Boy Scouts Group
Ushers Club
Improvement Fund
Social Club
Choir

Non-active clubs at this time:

Girls' Club
Athletic Club
Mother's Club
Dramatic Club

Statistics:

Year	Baptisms	Marriages	Burials	Membership	Suburban Residents
1893	37	9	11	40 families	
1900	92	29	30		
1910	98	27	42	500 members	
1920		records inaccurate			
1930	28	12	9	500 members	
1940	13	29	10	"	
1950	19	16	18	"	15%
1960	34	16	22	"	40%
1970	19	5	14	250 members	85%
1973	6	2	10	175 members	85%

The year 1940 represents the peak year of the parish strength.

Church properties are currently (November 1973) up for sale.

Saint Margaret of Hungary. On March 24, 1917, several parishioners of Saint Elizabeth's Hungarian Roman Catholic Church met at Muhic Hall at East 120th and Buckeye Road to organize a Ladies' and Men's Sick Benefit and Death Benefit Lodge. The purpose of founding

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*Data provided by: Rev. Orosz, interview with Father Bobak
Dr. Geza Szentmiklosy Eles Master's Essay
J.J. Palasics, interview with Father Bobak

this Lodge was to build a new church on upper Buckeye (East 116th Street and Buckeye Road) where these parishioners now resided.

The first mass of the new parish was celebrated at St. Mary's (now St. Andrew's Abbey) at East Boulevard and Buckeye on August 17, 1919. The parishioners afterwards gathered at a small wooden church at East 116th Street near Buckeye. The present school building and church were constructed in 1928.

Maximum membership was reached in 1948 with a total of 3,800 to 4,000 men, women and children. Today, the total membership is about 1,700 of whom 55% live in the Buckeye neighborhood and 45% live scattered in about 30 suburbs. There are about 155 pupils enrolled in the school which absorbs 65% of the church's income.

The following are a few of the more important of twenty-seven church and school organizations initiated:

Holy Name Society
Men's Club
Choir
Altar Society
Rosary Society
Ladies Guild
PTU

Movement of its parishioners from the community and the resultant decline of church membership has been due to deterioration of the neighborhood, fear for the wellbeing of girls, socioeconomic mobility, and realtors' push.

Shaker Square Hungarian Baptist Church.* The first Hungarian Baptist immigrants rented an empty store on Buckeye between Ambler and Woodhill Avenue for their services. In 1903, they moved to the center of the Hungarian colony on East 79th Street, then to 8115 Holton Avenue. With the help of the president of the Ladies' Home Mission Society, they purchased the First German Christian Alliance Church. This became the location of the First Hungarian Baptist Church. Using the chapel as their meeting place, they immediately organized a band and a choir and preached the gospel on the street corners.

With the increase in membership and mounting demands on missionary activity, the members felt a need for a trained leader. They called the Reverend Stephen Orosz from Budapest. He took over the church on June 15, 1908. At that time it consisted of 42 members. On October 4, 1908, the congregation expressed a desire to become entirely independent of the German Church. By October 15 of the same year, at a meeting of the ministers, the church was declared an independent organization in the American Baptist Church Convention. By 1911, the growth of the congregation, assistance from the J.D. Rockefeller Foundation amounting to $6,000, and a $2,000 loan by the Cleveland Baptist City Mission Society, made it possible to erect a new 500 seat church structure on 8907 Holton Avenue.

The efforts of the Cleveland congregation also made it possible to support the North West Virginia Mission, to open the Youngstown, Ohio Mission, to develop the West Side Mission, the Barberton, Ohio

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*Statistical data and other information from Rev. Orosz, pastor.

Mission, and the Buckeye 118th Mission whose church was built in 1917. During the ministry of Reverend Orosz (July 15, 1908 to October 31, 1920), 180 converts were baptized, a mission school was founded, and church membership rose to over 242. Reverend Orosz was followed by the Reverend Michael Biro, Sr. who served the church energetically at the time of the Great Depression. He was an inspiration in those very difficult times and a source of hope to immigrants just arriving. He was followed by the Reverend Dr. Charles Gruber in 1937. This capable young man was a linguist who came to the United States to continue his theological studies. He preached in both Hungarian and English. A racial change in the community came about during his pastorate (1937-1945) with the in-migration of a sizeable Black population.

By 1945 most people moved east on the Kinsman side. This racial change was responsible for the uniting of the Holton and Buckeye churches forming the Shaker Square Hungarian Baptist Church located at 2844 East 130th Street in 1948. The Reverends Gruber and Danda became co-ministers of this church and its congregation numbered 270 individuals. In 1947, the health of Reverend Danda forced him to move to a Los Angeles, California church. In 1948, also because of ill health, Dr. Gruber took a leave of absence and he died shortly thereafter. The Reverend Emil Bretz, a classmate of Reverend Gruber at the Budapest Seminary, was serving during the leave of absence of the pastor. He was asked to become minister in 1948. Under his leadership a parsonage was purchased and a new constitution and by-laws were prepared.

A period of strife was precipitated due to a struggle between the second and third generation over church direction and an increased English base.

Since December 1975, Reverend Edward Orosz, son of Reverend Stephen Orosz, has been pastor of the church. A two-language preaching service was introduced in 1957. This was done in order to meet the need of younger people and those whose spouse was unfamiliar with Hungarian. At first these changes brought back many who had left and church membership increased. However, soon old problems connected with changes in the community's make-up and stability emerged again. At present only one quarter of the membership resides in the area and it seems unlikely that new members will be attracted. The remaining old people are dying rapidly and membership has dwindled to just over 100.

The following organizations are still active: Ladies' Aid, Choir, Young Adult Fellowship, Orchestra, Youth Fellowship, Church school classes for all ages.

First Hungarian Lutheran Church.* Hungarian Lutheran immigrants were granted a charter on April 23, 1906 to form the First Hungarian Lutheran Church. On September 7, 1913, the first church and school building were purchased on Rawlings Avenue for $8,250. On November 10, 1940, ground was broken for the new Hungarian Lutheran Church building at East Boulevard and Buckeye. On May 2, 1943, the mortgage for the new church was amortized, and in 1954, the construction of a new educational center was completed.

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*Data from: Dr. Szentmiklosy Eles and interview with Reverend Brachna Gabor by Reverend Orosz (team member).

Maximum membership in 1950 was 1,000 families. In 1973, membership consisted of 450 families of which 220 are active. Thirty-five percent of the families live in the Buckeye area; of these half are over 50 years old. The remaining majority of the families live in the suburbs.

The major active church organizations are:

Presbytery
Altar Club
Ladies' League
Young Women's Organization
Sunday School
Boy Scouts

Reasons for leaving the neighborhood:

1) Deterioration produced by changing neighborhood
2) Lack of schools
3) Fear
4) Push by realtors
5) Self-improvement

The First Magyar Presbyterian Church.* The First Magyar Presbyterian Church was organized May 24, 1914. It was created by a handful of people and its peak membership of 700 families was reached between 1948 and 1956.

By 1969, membership had declined to 400 families and by 1973 to 243 families. The residence of the present membership is equally divided between the suburbs and the neighborhood, but the majority of neighborhood residents are older people. Hungarian services have a better attendance than those conducted in English.

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*Data provided by Reverend Endrey in an interview with Reverend Orosz (team member).

The Church's most active organizations are:

Sunday School
Men's Fellowship
Ladies' Aid Societies (3)
Boards of Elders (2)
Choir
Bible Study Schools (3)

The main reasons for leaving the neighborhood are:

1) Changing neighborhood
2) Fear
3) Lack of schools
4) Real estate push
5) Self-improvement

The First Hungarian Reformed Church.* Cleveland was the site of the original Hungarian Reformed Church in the United States: the First Hungarian Reformed Church. The congregation of about 60 charter members was organized by Reverend Gustav Juranyi in 1891 and a few years later a church was built and dedicated. A new stone church replaced the old wooden structure in 1904. Reverend Csutoros, who had been with the church for thirteen years, resigned in 1911 and was followed by Reverend Alexander Toth. Four years later, a split in the membership occurred and the dissatisfied group of the congregation formed the First Hungarian Presbyterian Church.

Under Reverend Dr. Stephen Szabo, a new Cathedral was dedicated in 1949. Members of the congregation organized freedom flights in 1956 in order to aid Hungarian refugees in the aftermath of the Hungarian Revolution. Further extensive improvements of the Cathedral's facilities were carried out in the early 1960's.

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*Data provided by Elaine Galgany, member of the First Hungarian Reformed Church.

Membership: 1950 - 1,000 families
1973 - 600 families

Most active church organizations are:

- Churchmen's Brotherhood
- Women's Guild
- Church School
- Aid Society
- The Lorantffy
- Ladies'Aid Society
- Sewing Club
- Youth Fellowship

Shomre Hadath Magyar Izraelta Hitkozseg.* This synagogue had its origins in the formation of a "minion" (religious requirement of ten adult males for organized prayer) in 1922. At this time, the group of approximately twenty-five met in rented facilities, a branch of the Kenneseth Israel Congregation of E. 104th and Buckeye Road. Services were limited to Saturdays and high holy days, and the Kenneseth Israel received $500 per year from the Shomre Hadath members for use of the building. In August, 1923, the Shomre Hadath congregation purchased the building on E. 104th and Buckeye, and they remained there until 1925. Never desiring to use this facility permanently, the congregation began the process of building its own synagogue in September 1924 with the purchase of land on E. 123rd and Parkhill Avenue for a new, large structure. Between 1925, when the original building was sold, and 1926, when the congregation moved into the new synagogue, the members rented a storeroom for six months at 11616 Buckeye Road and then used the home of one of its members for services.

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*Data provided by: John Palasics from excerpts of a talk on the history of the synagogue at a general meeting of the BNNCA in 1965. The talk was given by Arnold Oppenheim, President of the Shomre Hadath. Also, interviews of Arnold Oppenheim by Professor Daniel E. Weinberg, 5/29 and 6/19/74.

The Shomre Hadath had the use of a rabbi for very little of its fifty year history. The father-in-law of a member, Rabbi Schernburn, officiated for a short time, but his death in the early 1940's returned the congregation to its original lay control. In this respect, Mr. Arnold Oppenheim, president of the synagogue, frequently was the force of continuity and strength in the Shomre Hadath's history.

The synagogue also initiated a Sunday School for its children soon after completing the new facility. Approximately 25-30 children attended regularly and teachers were furnished by the Hebrew Alliance for a fee. The School, however, was disbanded in the late 1940's as a consequence of declining enrollments and rising costs.

In addition, two other organizations were created by the congregation. In December 1922, a woman's auxilliary, the sisterhood, was begun to support the synagogue financially and to provide a social activity for the wives of members. It continued until the demise of the Shomre Hadath in 1972. The second organization created was a burial society, the Chevre Kadisha. Operated on a monthly dues basis, this society assured its members an orthodox burial rite. The Chevre Kadisha purchased land in Mount Olive Cemetary, and its administration was transferred to the Young Israel congregation in 1972 when the remaining members of the Shomre Hadath fused with this group.

In its prime during the 1930's, the congregation had between 500 and 600 members and did well until the younger generation abandoned the orthodox traditions in favor of more reformed practices. Due to the changing character of the neighborhood, many members also relocated and joined other temples such as the Temple on the Heights which also had been founded by Hungarians.

By the early 1970's, membership had dwindled to six. Although the synagogue was made available for community affairs free of charge and funds were raised by its use as a voting place, lack of membership made it necessary to abandon the temple. The building was sold to the Second Trinity Missionary Baptist Church in December 1972, a Black congregation.

B'nai Jeshurun (The "Hungarian Congregation").* The first Hungarian Jewish congregation in Cleveland was formed by Herman Sampliner in 1866. At first, the small congregation of sixteen met at the homes of individual members. By 1868, membership had risen to thirty-five and halls were rented on high holidays to accommodate several hundred visitors. After several moves, from Halle's Hall on Superior (near present Arcade) to Michigan Street and the Temple on Eagle Street, which had been purchased from the Anshe Chesed congregation, the construction of a new temple was finally undertaken in 1905. The new building was located at the corner of East 55th Street and Scovill Avenue and was dedicated on September 16, 1906. At that time, there were 454 members.

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*Sources: Gries, Moses J. (Rabbi), "The Jewish Community of Cleveland" (n.d., n.p.).

Proceedings, Conference on the Writing of Regional History, with special emphasis on Religion and Ethnic Groups, Convened by the Western Reserve University, Western Reserve Historical Society, and the American Jewish History Center of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (Cleveland: December 1, 1955).

The following rabbis officiated for this congregation: Morris Klein, 1875-1886; Sigmund Drechsler, 1887-1905; A.E. Dobrin, 1906-1908; Samuel Schwartz, 1909-1911; Jacob Klein, 1911-1919; Soloman Goldman, 1919-1936.

Around the 1890's a religious school was started consisting of six classes and three teachers. Three hundred children received two hours of instruction per day.

While B'nai Jeshrun had originally been an orthodox congregation, it became more liberal during the 1900's. Differences over doctrine among members were, in part, responsible for dissident groups forming their own separate congregations such as the Oheb Zedek Congregation, an orthodox offshoot of B'nai Jeshurun located on Parkwood Drive and Morrison Avenue in Glenville.

In 1922, the building at East 55th and Scovill Avenue was sold and the Temple moved to Cleveland Heights at Lee Road and Mayfield.

Neighborhood Schools

Like other ethnic groups, most of the Buckeye Road Hungarians send their children to parochial schools from grades 1 to 8. There is only one private high school for boys in the area, Benedictine High School, and there are no private high schools for girls.

Cleveland Public Schools Frequented by Buckeye Neighborhood Children*

Harvey Rice Elementary

Year	Total Students	Total Black	Total White
1940	602	0**	602
1950	549	0	549
1960	409	0	409
1970	623	500	123
1973	687	621	66

Mt. Auburn Elementary

Year	Total Students	Total Black	Total White
1940	413	0**	413
1950	254	0	254
1960	233	0	233
1970	578	532	46
1973	649	644	5

Woodland Elementary

Year	Total Students	Total Black	Total White
1940	554		
1950	555		
1960	673		
1970	600	544	56
1973	436	413	23

Anthony Wayne Elementary

Year	Total Students	Total Black	Total White
1940	632	0**	632
1950	484		
1960	476		
1970	465	341	124
1973	569	470	99

Audubon Jr. High

Year	Total Students	Total Black	Total White	
1940	1,562	6**	1,556	***
1950	904			
1960	1,093	200	893	
1970	1,571	1,533	38	
1973	1,687	1,641	38	

John Adams High

Year	Total Students	Total Black	Total White
1940	3,219		
1950	2,047		
1960	2,502		
1970	2,826	2,795	31
1973	3,003	2,996	7

East Tech High

Year	Total Students	Total Black	Total White
1940	3,107		
1950	954		
1960	1,385		
1970	2,405	2,404	1
1973	2,837	2,837	0

John Hay High

Year	Total Students	Total Black	Total White
1940	3,346		
1950	1,326		
1960	1,204		
1970	1,928	1,923	5
1973	2,036	2,036	0

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*Source: Cleveland Board of Education

**Number of Blacks prior to 1970 are eyewitness estimates. Schools did not carry racial counts until 1970.

***Audubon school district was re-adjusted to exclude Buckeye west of Woodhill but includes East 105th and Cedar area. Students from the East 105th and Cedar area were bussed in.

Catholic Schools of the Buckeye Neighborhood+

St. Margaret (Hungarian)

Year	Total Students
1940	419
1950	501
1960	426
1965	366
1970	265
1973	194

St. Benedict (Slovak)

Year	Total Students
1940	616
1950	661
1960	773
1965	665
1970	329
1973	215

Benedictine High (Originally Slovak)

Year	Total Students	Hungarian	Black
1940	302		
1950	1,066		
1960	1,018		
1965	929	136	38 *
1966	920		
1967	940		
1968	907		
1969	843		
1970	746	92	124 *
1971	656		
1972	590		146 **
1973	477		134 **

Our Lady of Peace (Non-nationality)

Year	Total Students
1940	353
1950	435
1960	441
1965	321
1970	274
1973	245

Our Lady of Mt. Carmel (Italian)

Year	Total Students
1940	
1950	323
1960	419
1965	322
1970	235
1973	154

+Statistics from the Cleveland Catholic Board of Education, 5103 Superior Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio 44103

*Benedictine Bulletin, January 1970

**Public Relations Department, Benedictine High

St. Elizabeth (Hungarian)***

Year	Total Students
1940	467
1950	441
1960	164
1965	closed

St. Ladislaus (Slovak)

Year	Total Students
1940	199
1950	148
1960	145
1970	closed

St. John Hungarian

Year	Total Students
1940	
1950	
1960	162
1965	144
1970	144
1973	closed

***To be distinguished from Hungarian Language School

Graphic View of the Hungarian Community

The heavy lined area includes the portions of the community in which Hungarians represent the numerically dominant group on a street by street basis. Areas marked by criss-crossed lines have a predominantly Black (50% or more) population and the large square criss-crossed areas are those in which Hungarians are a minority group.

Comments:

In 1930, the only area with a heavy Black concentration was between Abell and Kinsman and East 123rd and East 132nd Street.

By 1940, the only change in the Hungarian community was an influx of Blacks at Kinsman and East 79th Street.

The 1950 map shows an expansion of the Black community northeastward from East 79th Street and Kinsman whereas only a slight change is indicated in the eastern Black community. The Hungarians were moving out of low cost homes in the East 79th Street area while non-Hungarians were giving up better homes around East 123rd Street and Kinsman.

By 1960, the original Hungarian settlement was completely given up and Soika, after thirty-five years as a border street of the Hungarian community, became a Black settlement.

Nineteen-seventy shows the radical change which took place in the late sixties. All areas west of Woodhill, south of Mt. Auburn and Griffing, and Ludlow became predominantly Black.

1973: The state of the Hungarian community as it is today is indicated by yellow lines indicating 25% or more Hungarian residents on a street by street basis; this is our survey area.

Key to the following maps:

Churches (Hungarian built)

Baptist

(1)	Holten Avenue Baptist	Holten Avenue (Sold)
(2)	Buckeye Road Baptist	East 119th, Buckeye (Sold)
(3)	Shaker Square United Hungarian Baptist (purchased by Hungarian congregations)	East 130th

Greek Catholic

(4)	St. John Hungarian Greek Catholic	Buckeye and Ambler

Roman Catholic

(5)	St. Elizabeth	Buckeye Road
(6)	St. Margaret of Hungary	East 116th Street
(7)	St. Ladislas*	East 92nd, Holten (Burned)

Reformed

(8)	First Hungarian Reformed	East 79th Street (Sold)
(9)	First Hungarian Reformed	East Blvd., Buckeye
(10)	First Hungarian Lutheran	East Blvd., Buckeye
(11)	First Hungarian Presbyterian	East 126th Street

Jewish

(12)	Shumrey Hadath Hungarian Orthodox	East 123rd, Parkhill (Sold)

Slovak Built

(13) St. Benedict Roman Catholic
(14) Benedictine High School

Hungarian attended Public Elementary Schools after 1940:

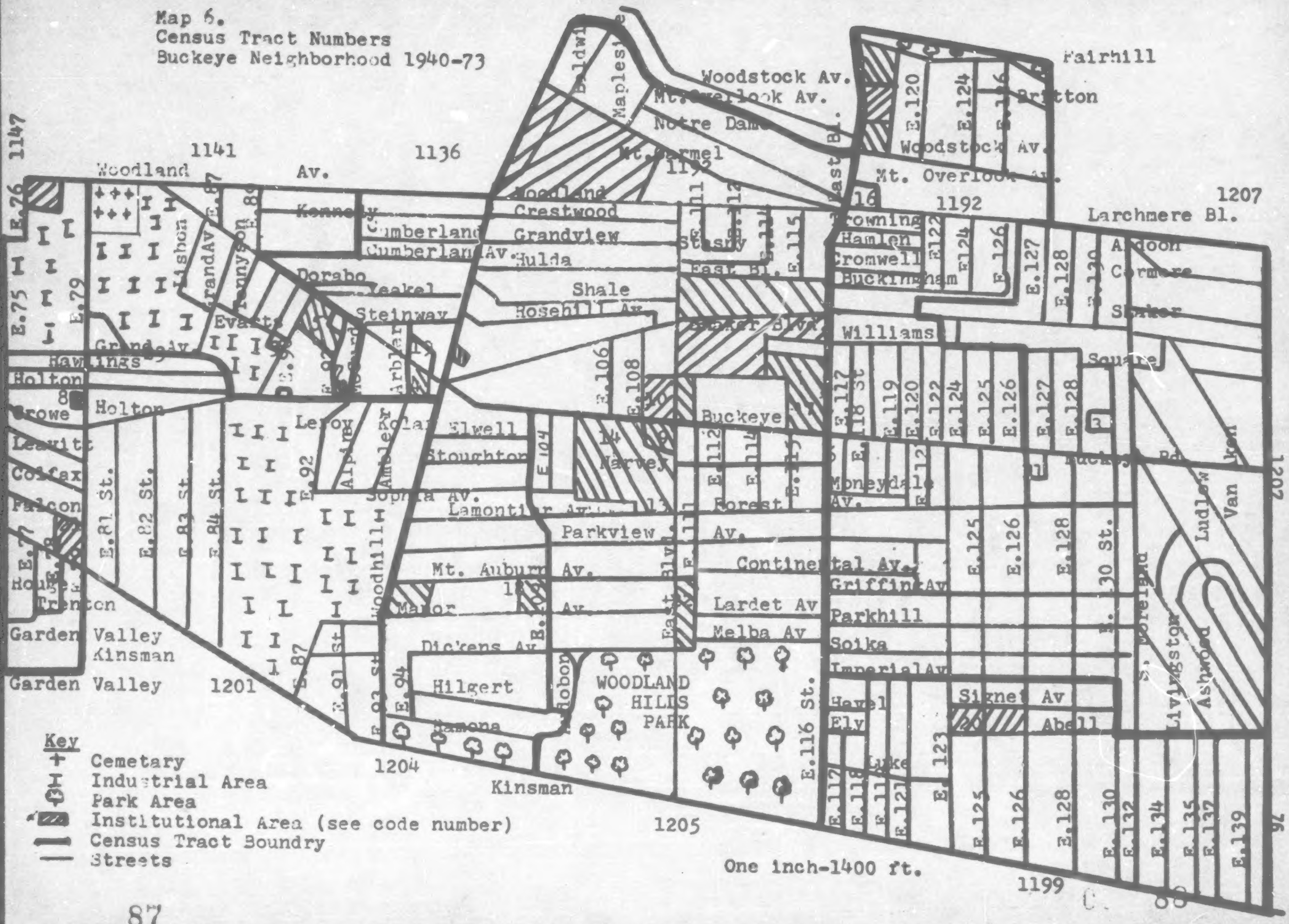
(16)	Anthony Wayne	East Blvd. and Woodland
(17)	Harvey Rice	East 116th and Buckeye
(18)	Mount Auburn	East 102nd
(19)	Woodland	Buckeye (Burned-Demolished)
(20)	Lafayett	Signet East 123-126th
(21)	Kinsman	Kinsman, East 79th (Burned-Demolished)

Hungarian attended Junior High Schools:

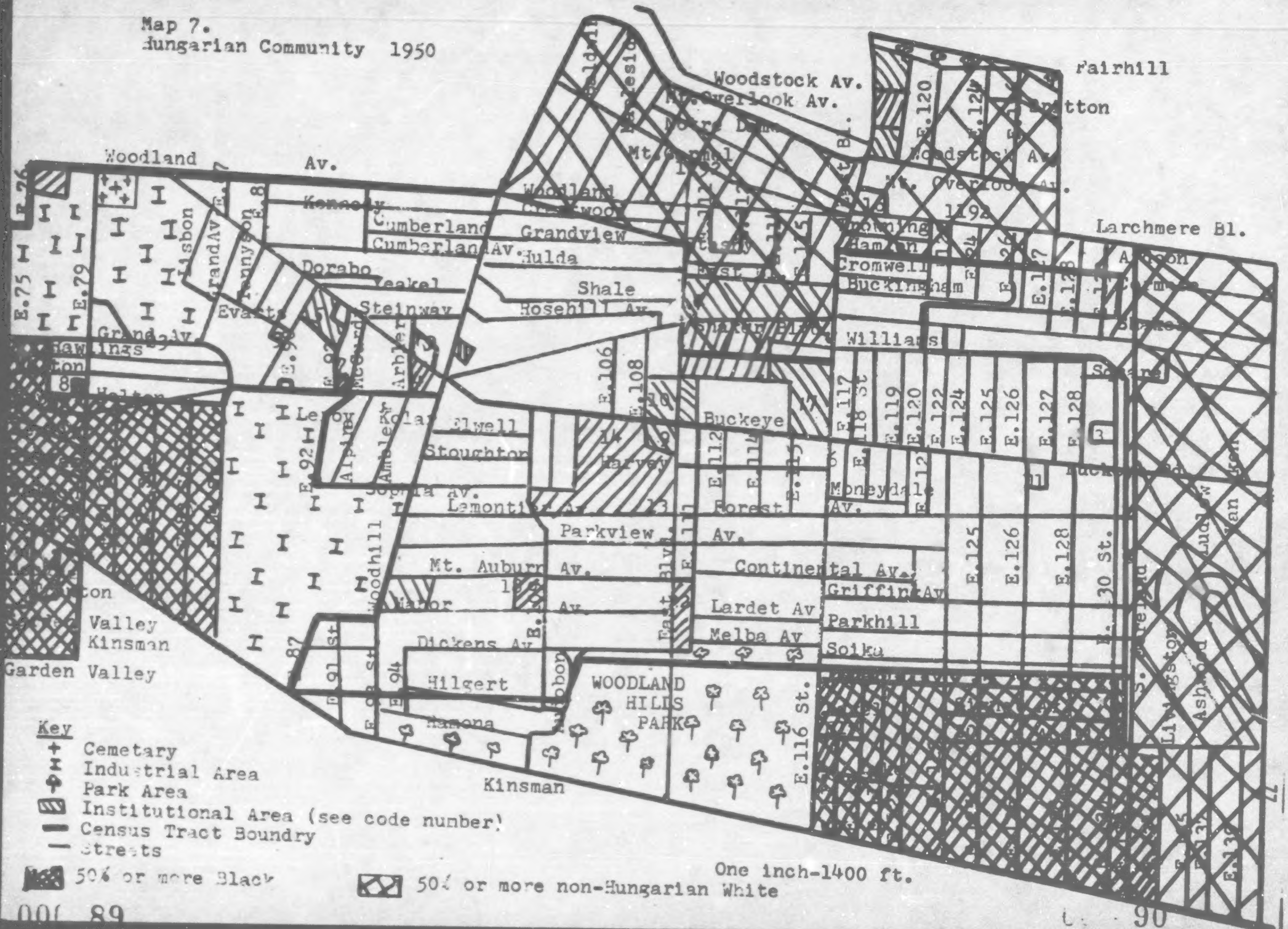
(22)	Audubon	East Blvd.
(23)	Rawlings	Rawlings

*Built jointly with Slovaks

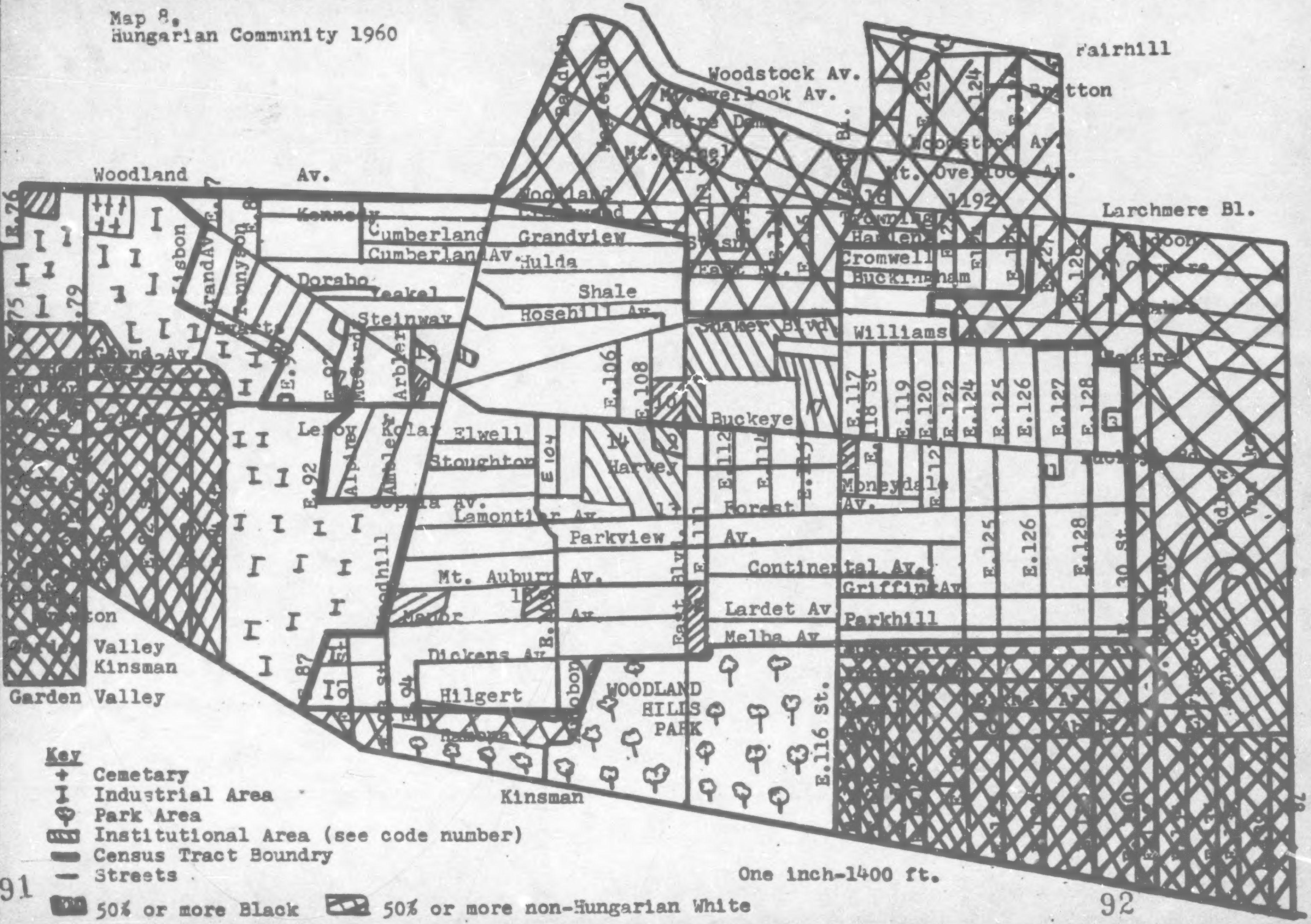
Map 6.
Census Tract Numbers
Buckeye Neighborhood 1940-73


1147
1141
1136
1192
1207
1201
1204
1205
1199
Woodland Av.
Woodstock Av.
Mt. Overlook Av.
Notre Dame
Mt. Carmel
Fairhill
Britton
Larchmere Bl.
Kennedy
Cumberland Av.
Crestwood
Grandview
Hulda
Shale
Rosehill Av.
Dorabo
Yeakel
Steinway
Evarts
Grand Av.
Rawlings
Holton
Crowe
Leavitt
Colfax
Falcon
Trenton
Garden Valley
Kinsman
Leroy
Kolar
Elwell
Stoughton
Sophia Av.
Lamontier Av.
Parkview
Mt. Auburn Av.
Manor Av.
Dickens Av.
Hilgert
Ramona
Harvey
Buckeye
Forest Av.
Continental Av.
Lardet Av
Melba Av
Browning
Hamlen
Cromwell
Buckingham
Williamson
Square
Buckeye Rd.
Moneydale Av.
Griffing Av
Parkhill
Soika
Imperial Av
Signet Av
Abell
Hazel
Ely
Luke
Ardoon
Carmere
Shaker
East Bl.
Shaker Blvd.
Ludlow
Van Ken
Livingston
Ashwood
WOODLAND HILLS PARK
E. 116 St.
One inch-1400 ft.
Key
Cemetary
Industrial Area
Park Area
Institutional Area (see code number)
Census Tract Boundry
Streets

Map 7.
Hungarian Community 1950

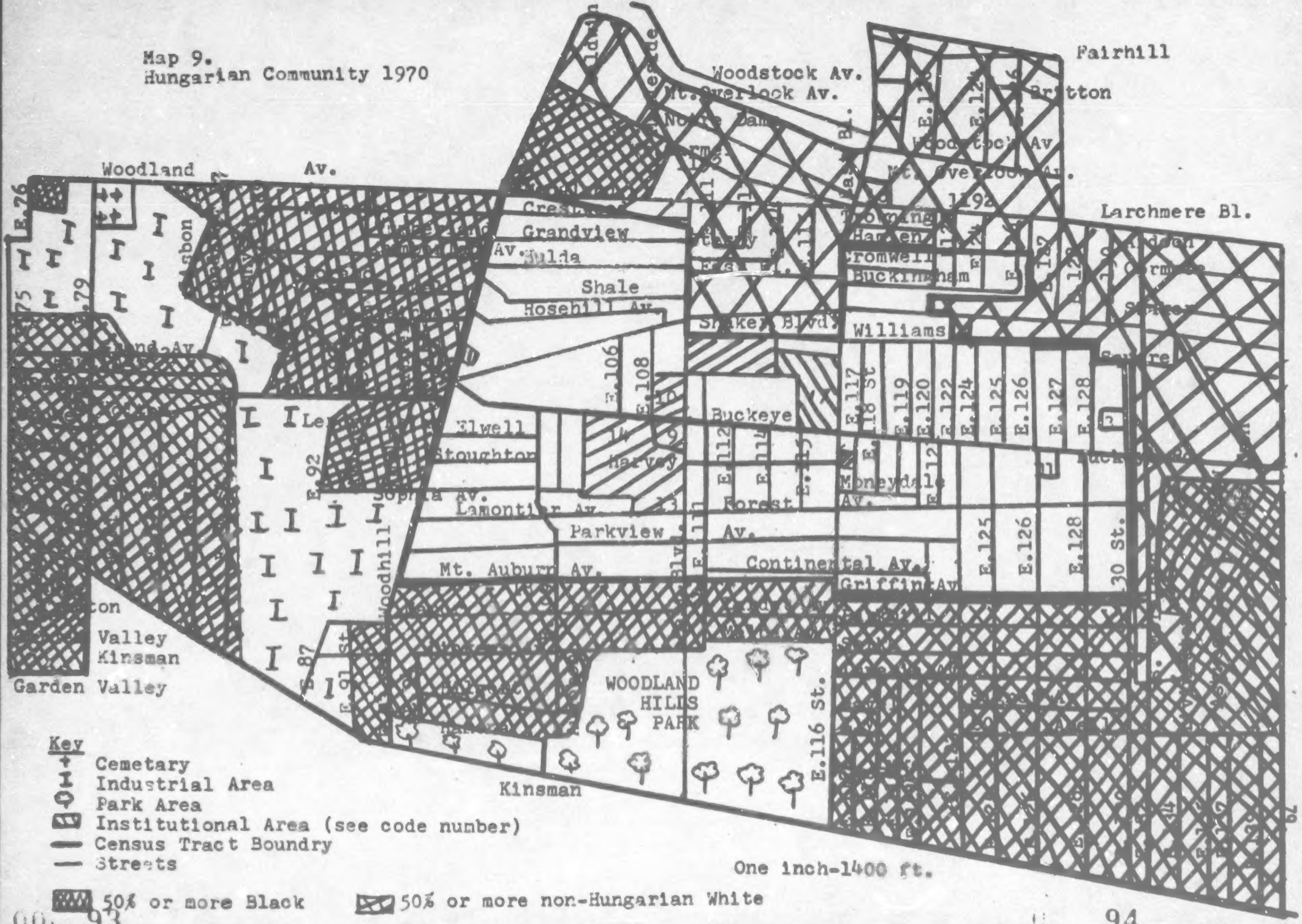

Woodland Av.
Woodstock Av.
Mt. Overlook Av.
Notre Dame
Mt. Carmel
Fairhill
Britton
Woodstock Av.
Mt. Overlook Av.
Larchmere Bl.
Kennedy
Cumberland
Cumberland Av.
Woodland
Grandview
Hulda
Shale
Rosehill Av.
Dorabo
Yeakel
Steinway
Evarts
Grand Av.
Rawlings
Holton
Lisbon
Tennyson
Grand Av.
E.75
E.79
E.87
E.88
Cromwell
Buckingham
Williams
Shaker Blvd.
Buckeye
Harvey
Elwell
Stoughton
Kolar
Alpine
Ambler
Leroy
E.92
E.106
E.108
Sophia Av.
Lemontier Av.
Parkview
Forest Av.
Moneydale Av.
Mt. Auburn Av.
Continental Av.
Griffing Av.
Manor Av.
Lardet Av
Parkhill
Melba Av
Soika
Dickens Av.
Hilgert
Ramona
Woodhill
E.91 St.
E.93 St.
E.94
East Blvd.
E.112
E.114
E.116 St.
E.117
E.118 St
E.119
E.120
E.122
E.124
E.125
E.126
E.127
E.128
E.125
E.126
E.128
E.130 St.
E.120
E.124
Ludlow
Livingston
Ashwood
WOODLAND HILLS PARK
Valley
Kinsman
Garden Valley
Kinsman
Key
Cemetary
Industrial Area
Park Area
Institutional Area (see code number)
Census Tract Boundry
Streets
50% or more Black
50% or more non-Hungarian White
One inch-1400 ft.

Map 8.
Hungarian Community 1960



Woodland Av.
Kennedy
Cumberland
Cumberland Av.
Grandview
Hulda
Shale
Rosehill Av.
Dorabo
Yeakel
Steinway
Lisbon
Grand Av.
Tennyson
Everts
Leroy
Kolar
Elwell
Stoughton
Sophia Av.
Lamontier Av.
Parkview Av.
Mt. Auburn Av.
Manor
Dickens Av.
Hilgert
Ramona
Kinsman
WOODLAND HILLS PARK
Woodhill
E. 92
E. 87
E. 94
E. 104
E. 106
E. 108
E. 112
E. 116 St.
E. 117
E. 118 St
E. 119
E. 120
E. 122
E. 124
E. 125
E. 126
E. 127
E. 128
E. 130 St.
E. 75
E. 76
E. 79
Woodstock Av.
Mt. Overlook Av.
Notre Dame
Mt. Carmel
Mt. Overlook Av.
Woodstock Av.
Fairhill
Bratton
Larchmere Bl.
Browning
Hampden
Cromwell
Buckingham
Shaker Blvd.
Williams
Buckeye
Harvey
Forest
Moneydale Av.
Continental Av.
Griffing Av.
Lardet Av.
Melba Av.
Parkhill
East Blvd.
Valley
Kinsman
Garden Valley
Key
Cemetary
Industrial Area
Park Area
Institutional Area (see code number)
Census Tract Boundry
Streets
50% or more Black
50% or more non-Hungarian White
One inch-1400 ft.

Map 9.
Hungarian Community 1970

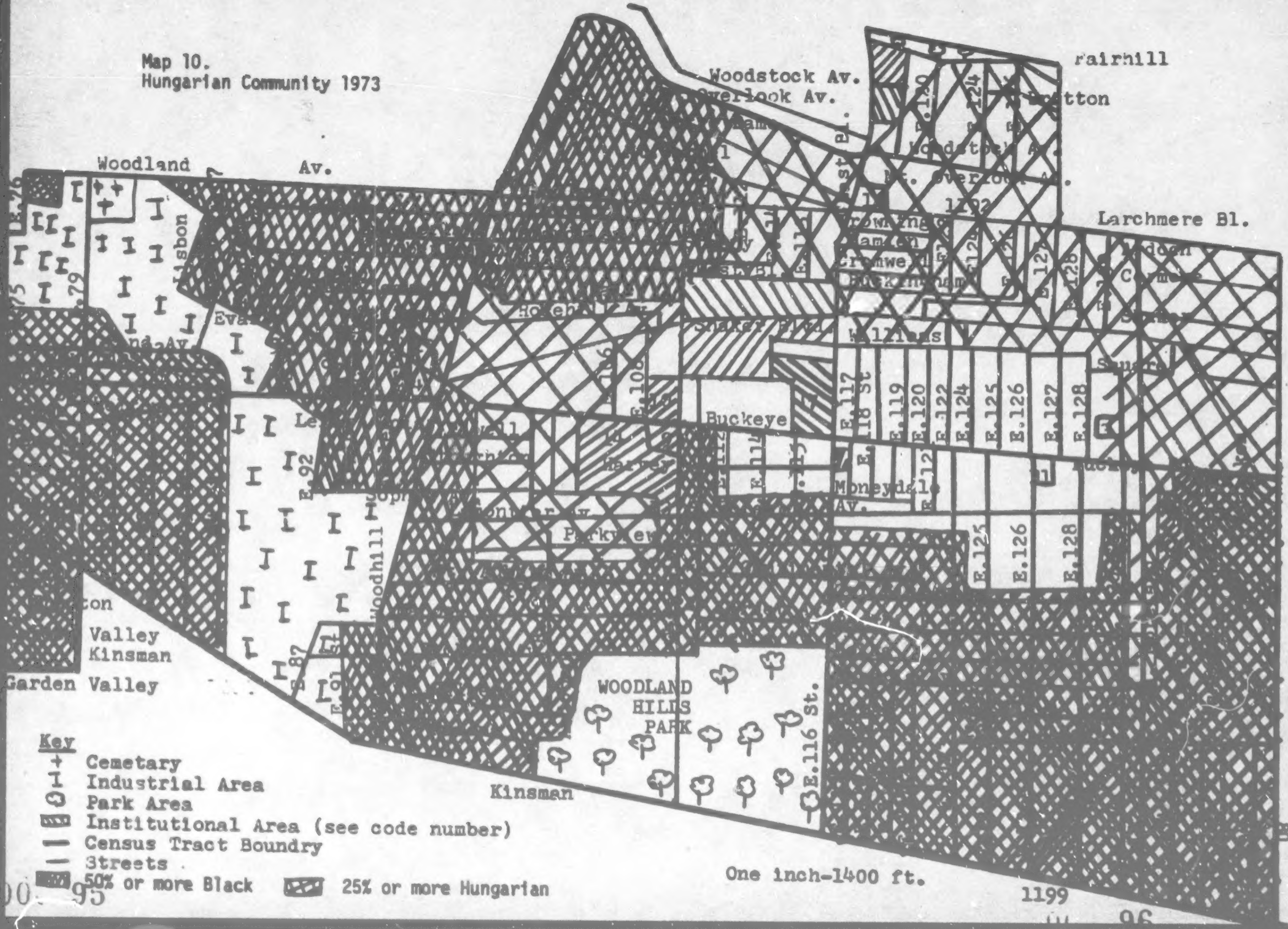

Woodland Av.
E.76
E.75
E.79
Woodstock Av.
Mt. Overlook Av.
Notre Dame
Fairhill
Britton
Woodstock Av.
Mt. Overlook Av.
1192
Larchmere Bl.
Grandview
Av.
Hulda
Shale
Rosehill Av.
Shaker Blvd.
Williams
Cromwell
Buckingham
Square
E.106
E.108
Buckeye
E.117
E.118 St
E.119
E.120
E.122
E.124
E.125
E.126
E.127
E.128
Elwell
Stoughton
Harvey
E.92
Sophia Av.
Lamontier Av.
Parkview
Forest
Av.
Moneydale
Av.
Continental Av.
Griffing Av.
Mt. Auburn Av.
E.125
E.126
E.128
30 St.
Woodhill
Valley
Kinsman
Garden Valley
E.87
E.91 St
WOODLAND
HILLS
PARK
E.116 St.
Kinsman

Key
- Cemetary
- Industrial Area
- Park Area
- Institutional Area (see code number)
- Census Tract Boundry
- Streets

One inch-1400 ft.

▩ 50% or more Black ▨ 50% or more non-Hungarian White

Map 10.
Hungarian Community 1973


Woodstock Av.
Overlook Av.
Fairhill
Stratton
Woodland
Av.
1192
Larchmere Bl.
Lisbon
Shaker Blvd
Williams
Square
E.79
E.92
Buckeye
E.117
E.118 St
E.119
E.120
E.122
E.124
E.125
E.126
E.127
E.128
Moneydale
Av.
Parkview
Woodhill
Valley
Kinsman
Garden Valley
WOODLAND
HILLS
PARK
E.116 St.
Kinsman
1199
Key
Cemetary
Industrial Area
Park Area
Institutional Area (see code number)
Census Tract Boundry
Streets
50% or more Black
25% or more Hungarian
One inch-1400 ft.

Explanation of Demographic Charts on the Buckeye Community

While eleven census tracts are used for the geographical history of the Hungarian Buckeye community, for the purpose of establishing totals census tract 1198 is omitted because of the small number of Hungarians in that area.

Each census tract is presented with a chart that shows the total population, the total number of Hungarian born, adjusted number of Hungarian born, an estimate of first and second generation Hungarians in total (Hungarian born first, American born second), and the total number of Blacks.

Howard Whipple Green's study, Population Characteristics by Census Tracts (Cleveland, Ohio, 1930), is included for each census tract to show the age make-up of the community during the 1930's.

In 1920, Hungary was partitioned with the result that about one third of the Hungarians became citizens of Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia or Austria. Therefore, to correct available census data, we adjusted the totals for Hungarian-born by one third.

Official counting of Hungarians presented problems also for 1940 and 1950 because of new boundary changes in Hungary. The census of 1940 legally did not recognize the territorial changes which were taking place after 1937. However, many Hungarian-speaking people coming from these areas listed themselves as Hungarians. It appears that neither the census taker nor the respondent correctly understood the situation. Therefore, we had to assume that the census is correct even though it appears to be a distortion for 1940. The 1950 census, nevertheless, appears correct and consistent with the 1960 and 1970 census.

Formula used to define and number Hungarians:

Hungarian Born Census	Hungarian Born Adjusted	Factor for Total, including American Born
1940	x 1.5	Hungarian Born adjusted x 2
1950	x 1.5	Hungarian Born adjusted x 2
1960	x 1.5	Hungarian Born adjusted x 1½
1970	x 1.5	Hungarian Born adjusted x 1½

Conservatively, the 1940 and 1950 census can be doubled to include the American born. However, for 1960 and 1970 the increase is reduced to 1½ because of the movement of the younger families from the community and the fact that many refugees of the period between 1950 and 1960 did not have children.

Changes in the population of Hungary are shown in the following table:

Hungarian Foreign Born in Cleveland, U.S. Census

1880	867		
1890			
1900	9,893	Cuyahoga County	
1910	31,503		
1920	29,724		
1930	19,073		
1940	20,944		20,472 Native of Hungary born
1950	21,204		23,814 Cuyahoga County

The 1920 census shows that there were about 30,000 Hungarian born in Cleveland. By 1930 this dropped to 19,000. This confirms the position that by 1930 the Hungarians in the partitioned sectors of Hungary had learned to associate themselves as required by the census with the successor states of Hungary. Hence, the factor of 1.5 appears to be a reasonably correct adjustment ratio.

The 1930 census shows a one to one ratio for foreign born to American born Hungarians.

TOTAL POPULATION

Census Tract	1940	1950	1960	1970
1143	3,275	3,980	4,733	7,226
1144	2,182	2,437	1,946	1,421
1145	3,005	2,819	2,461	1,421
1202	5,935	5,309	4,921	4,379
1193	6,731	8,752	7.894	6,083
1194	7,869	7,369	6,350	5,804
1195	4,320	5,812	5,627	5,372
1196	6,326	5,827	5,089	4,214
1197	7,348	7,505	7,089	7,320
1148	5,762	6,062	4,912	3,269
TOTAL	52,753	55,872	51,025	43,509

TOTAL BLACK BUCKEYE COMMUNITY

Census Tract	1940	1950	1960	1970
1143	987	3,321	4,650	4,163
1144	20	246	778	1,213
1145	9	0	70	1,213
1202	0	0	20	2,358
1193	48	33	438	2,293
1194	36	19	7	160
1195	43	23	26	160
1196	0	0	0	1,069
1197	192	349	2,023	4,673
1148	908	3,294	3,201	2,837
TOTAL	2,243	7,286	11,213	20,166

TOTAL HUNGARIANS BUCKEYE COMMUNITY
(Born of Hungarian parentage and first generation Hungarians)

Census Tract	1940	1950	1960	1970
1143	1,077	207	22	0
1144	1,704	1,116	766	166
1145	2,382	1,596	1,786	459
1202	2,220	1,482	2,295	753
1193	1,599	1,488	2,138	821
1194	4,608	3,753	4,563	3,465
1195	1,149	1,128	1,649	1,347
1196	3,303	1,908	3,429	1,613
1197	4,188	3,488	3,730	1,702
1148	2,595	972	740	123
TOTAL	24,825*	17,138	21,118	10,449

*A conservative figure taking into account total church membership which comes to 28,000.

HUNGARIAN BORN (ADJUSTED)

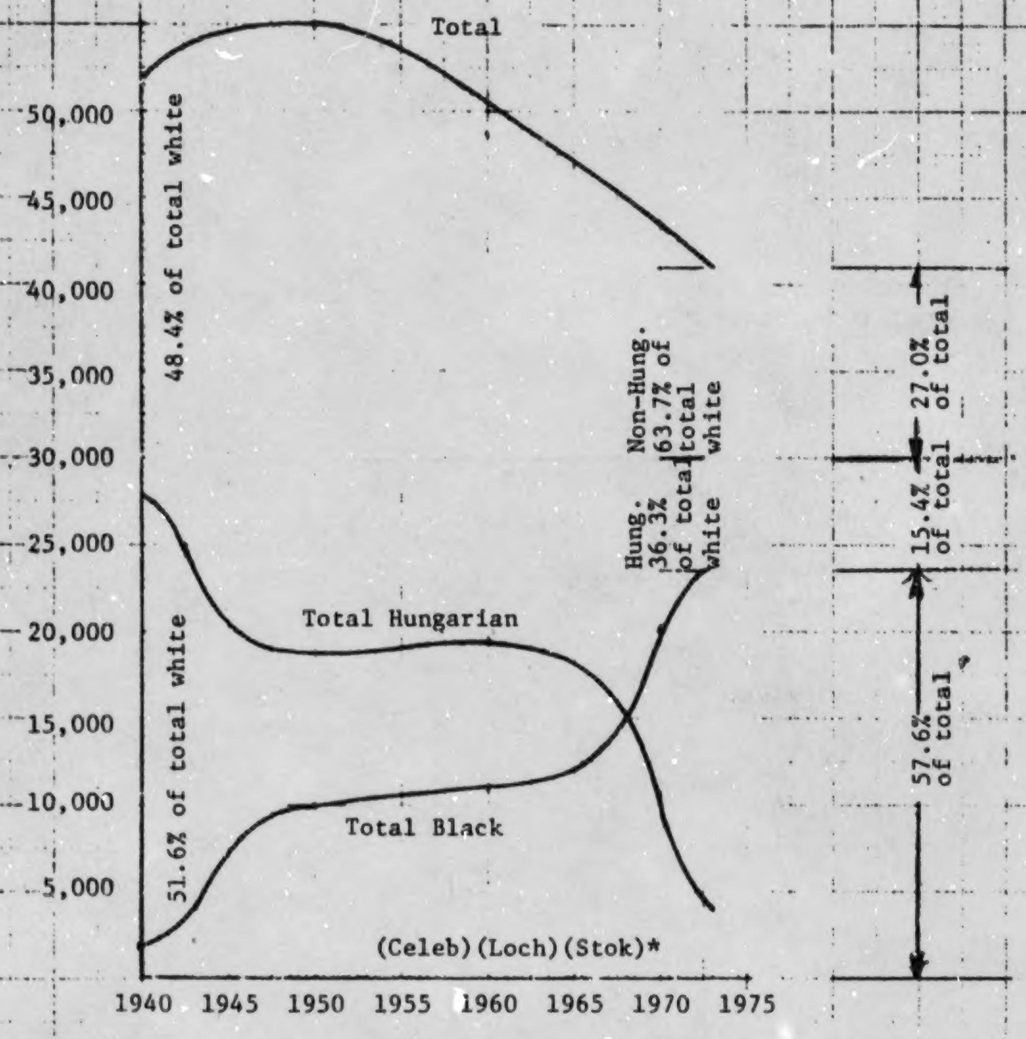
Census Tract	1940	1950	1960	1970
1143	538	103	15	0
1144	852	389	511	111
1145	1,194	789	1,191	306
1148	1,297	489	493	82
1193	799	744	1,422	547
1194	2,304	1,876	3,042	2,310
1195	574	564	1,099	899
1196	1,651	954	2,286	1,075
1197	2,094	1,744	2,487	1,135
1202	1,110	741	1,530	502
TOTAL	12,413	8,399	14,076	6,966

Demographic History

Total, Total Hungarians, and Total Black for Census Tracts

1143, 1144, 1145, 1202, 1193, 1194, 1195, 1196, 1197

1148 (1198 not included in chart)



Census Tract 1143 or N 3

(Howard Whipple Greene)

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION
1910	3,949	0
1920	4,579	118
1930	3,088	556

YEAR	AGE	TOTAL	PERCENT
1930	under 15	1,098	28
	15 - 29	1,081	27
	30 - 44	1,014	25
	45 - 59	514	13
	60 and up	273	7

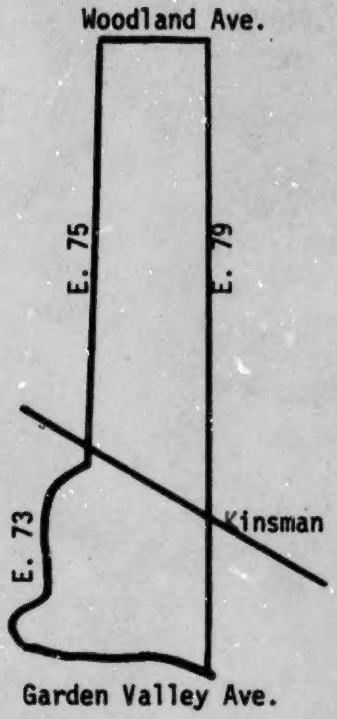
YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	MIXED %	NATIVE WHITE
1930	3,088	556	770	1,070	692

Census Tract 1143 or N 3

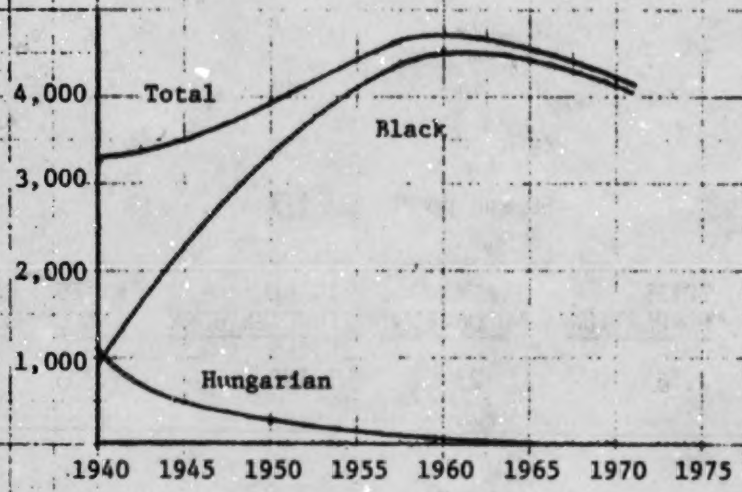
Hungarians began to settle in the census tract around 1880. The increase in total population in the 1960's resulted from the increasing housing capacity in the area south of Kinsman Road.

YEAR	TOTAL POP.	TOTAL WHITE	TOTAL BLACK	% BLACK	HUNGARIAN BORN (CENSUS)	HUNGARIAN BORN (ADJUSTED)	TOTAL HUNGARIAN (ADJUSTED)
1940	3,375	1,747*	987		459	538	1,077
1950	3,980	657	3,321		69	103	207
1960	4,733	81	4,650		10	15	22
1970	4,226	51	4,163	98.5	0	0	0

*Total White defined as "Native born"



Census Tract 1143 or N 3



West of East 79th Street

Census Tract 1144 or N 4

(Howard Whipple Greene)

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION
1910	4,529	0
1920	3,991	0
1930	2,567	23

YEAR	AGE	TOTAL	PERCENT
1930	under 15	644	26
	15 - 29	594	24
	30 - 44	548	23
	45 - 59	338	14
	60 and up	313	13

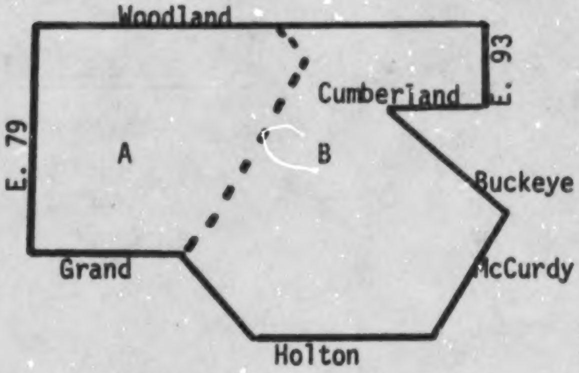
YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	MIXED %	NATIVE WHITE
1930	2,567	23	1,152	1,305	80

Census Tract 1144 or N 4

(Part of traditional Hungarian Community)

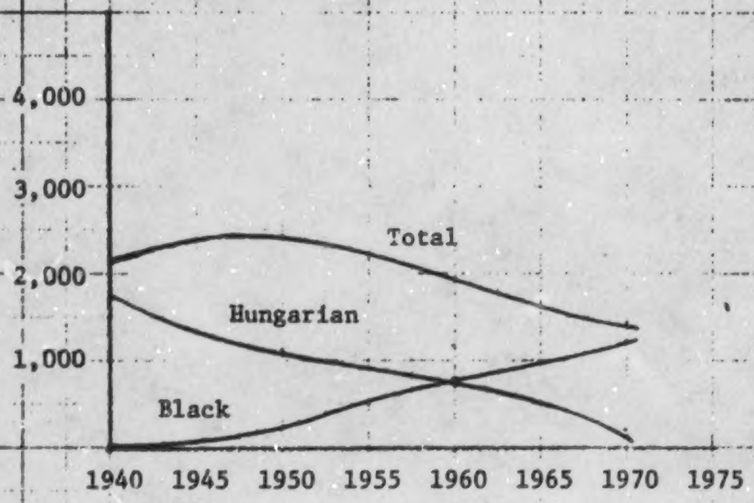
YEAR	TOTAL POP.	TOTAL WHITE	TOTAL BLACK	% BLACK	HUNGARIAN BORN (CENSUS)	HUNGARIAN BORN (ADJUSTED)	TOTAL HUNGARIAN (ADJUSTED)
1940	2,182	1,482	20	0.9	568	852	1,704
1950	2,437	2,190	246		389	389	1,116
1960	1,946	1,164	778		341	511	766
1965*	1,692	453	1,139	73.0			
1970	1,421	207	1,213	85.0	74	111	166

*East End Records


Woodland
E. 93
Cumberland
E. 79
A
B
Buckeye
Grand
McCurdy
Holton

A - Factory Area
B - Mostly Residential

Census Tract 1144 or N 4



Census Tract 1145 or N 5

(Howard Whipple Greene)

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION
1910	3,389	0
1920	3,880	0
1930	3,700	0

YEAR	AGE	TOTAL	PERCENT
1930	under 15	646	23
	15 - 29	646	23
	30 - 44	697	25
	45 - 59	410	14
	60 and up	420	15

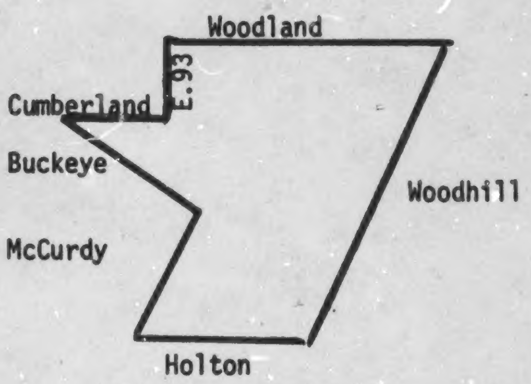
YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	MIXED %	NATIVE WHITE
1930	3,700	0	1,569	1,932	199

Census Tract 1145 or N 5

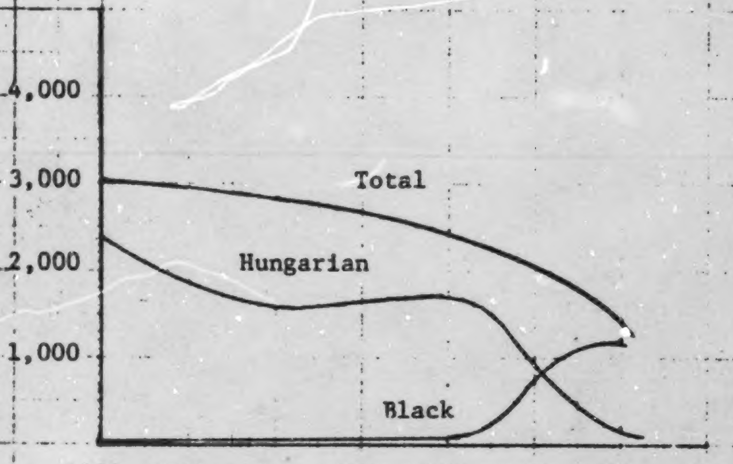
(Part of traditional Hungarian Community)

YEAR	TOTAL POP.	TOTAL WHITE	TOTAL BLACK	% BLACK	HUNGARIAN BORN (CENSUS)	HUNGARIAN BORN (ADJUSTED)	TOTAL HUNGARIAN (ADJUSTED)
1940	3,005	1,022	9		794	1,194	2,382
1950	2,819	2,817			532	798	1,596
1960	2,461	2,388	70		794	1,191	1,786
1965*	2,167	1,687	480	22.0			
1970	1,421	207	1,213	85.4	204	306	459

*East End Records


Woodland
E. 93
Cumberland
Buckeye
Woodhill
McCurdy
Holton

Census Tract 1145 or N 5



Census Tract 1148 or N 8

(Howard Whipple Greene)

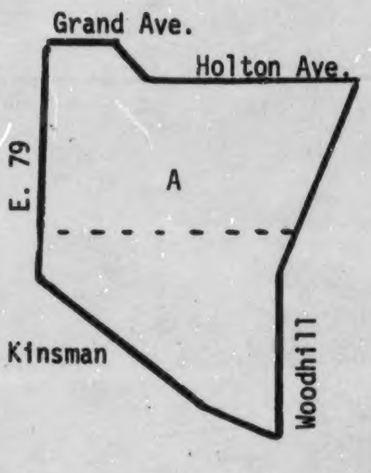
YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION
1910	6,812	42
1920	7,701	242
1930	6,296	724

YEAR	AGE	TOTAL	PERCENT
1930	under 15	1,676	28
	15 - 29	1,534	25
	30 - 44	1,491	25
	45 - 59	810	13
	60 and up	551	9

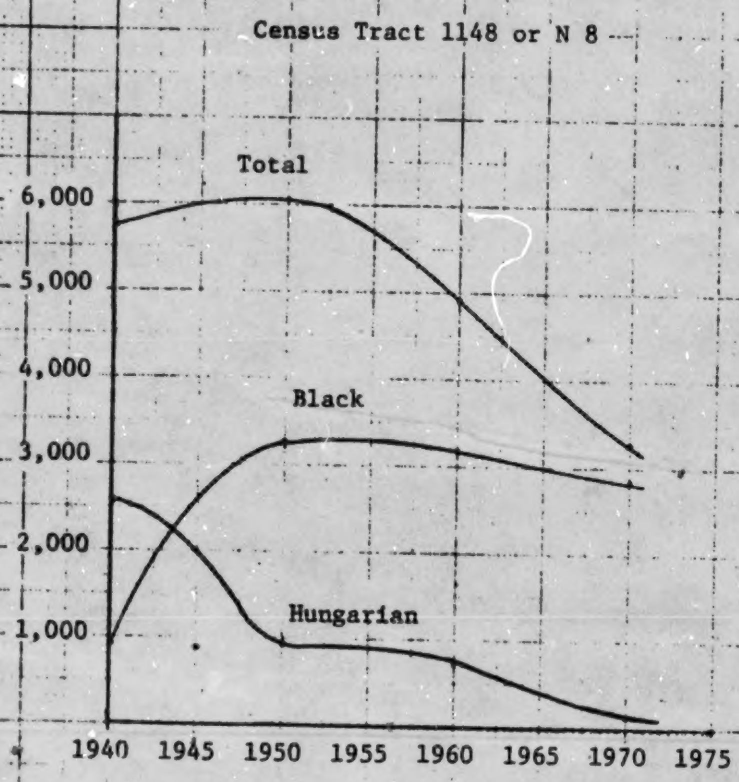
YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	MIXED %	NATIVE WHITE
1930	6,296	724	2,173	2,886	513

Census Tract 1148 or N 8

YEAR	TOTAL POP.	TOTAL WHITE	TOTAL BLACK	% BLACK	HUNGARIAN BORN (CENSUS)	HUNGARIAN BORN (ADJUSTED)	TOTAL HUNGARIAN (ADJUSTED)
1940	5,762	3,399	917		865	1,297	2,595
1950	6,062	2,767	3,294		324	486	972
1960	4,912	1,705	3,201		329	493	740
1970	3,269	377	2,837	98.1	55	82	123


Grand Ave.
Holton Ave.
E. 79
A
Kinsman
Woodhill

A - Northern half Hungarian Community



Census Tract 1148 or N 8

Census Tract 1193 or S 3

(Howard Whipple Greene)

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION
1910	2,402	24
1920	4,785	83
1930	6,984	66

YEAR	AGE	TOTAL	PERCENT
1930	under 15	2,190	25
	15 - 29	2,431	28
	30 - 44	1,993	23
	45 - 59	1,174	13
	60 and up	964	11

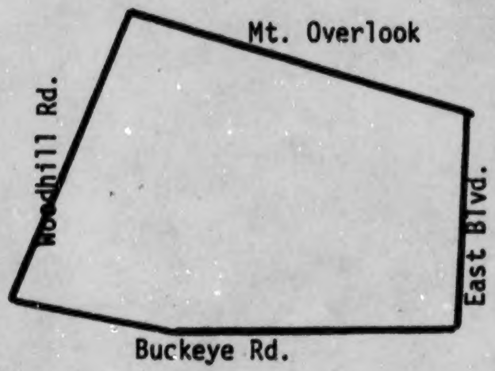
YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	MIXED %	NATIVE WHITE
1930	6,984	66	2,459	3,456	448

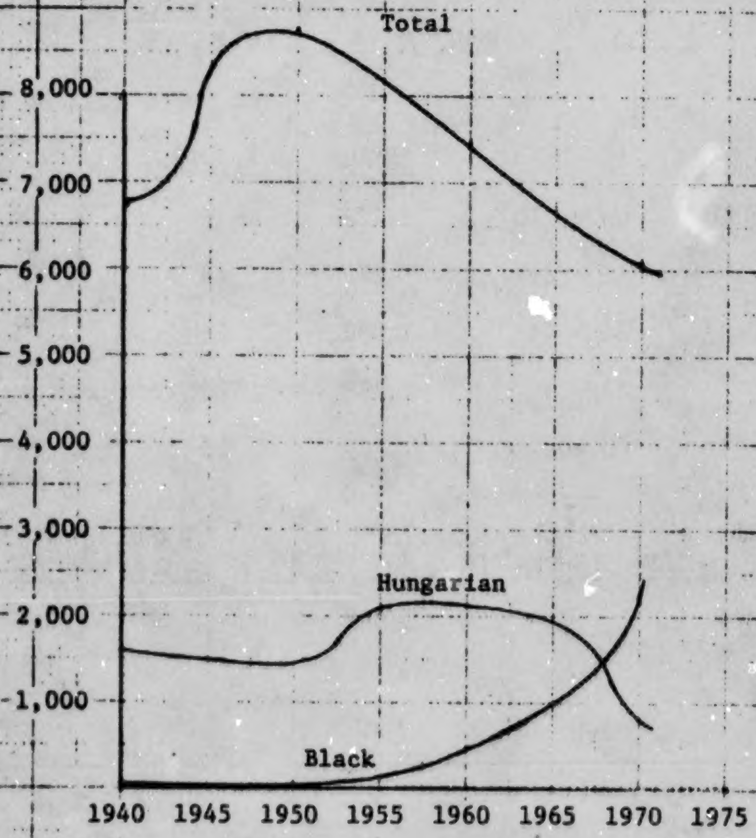
Census Tract 1193 or S 3

(Heavily "Hungarian" but lacks "Total Hungarian" Identity)

YEAR	TOTAL POP.	TOTAL WHITE	TOTAL BLACK	% BLACK	HUNGARIAN BORN (CENSUS)	HUNGARIAN BORN (ADJUSTED)	TOTAL HUNGARIAN (ADJUSTED)
1940	6,731	4,654*	48		533	799	1,599
1950	8,752**	8,719	33		496	744	1,488
1960	7,897	7,452	438		948	1,422	2,138
1970	6,083	3,714	2,293	37.7	365	547	821

*WHITE POPULATION defined as "Native White"
**Increase is due to increase in housing capacity, CMHA Woodland and Woodhill





Census Tract 1193 or S-3

Census Tract 1194 or S 4

(Howard Whipple Greene)

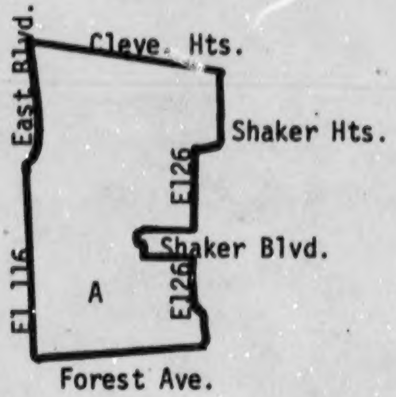
YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION
1910	431	0
1920	6,076	4
1930	8,461	8

YEAR	AGE	TOTAL	PERCENT
1930	under 15	1,429	19
	15 - 29	1,372	19
	30 - 44	1,889	26
	45 - 59	1,455	20
	60 and up	1,224	16

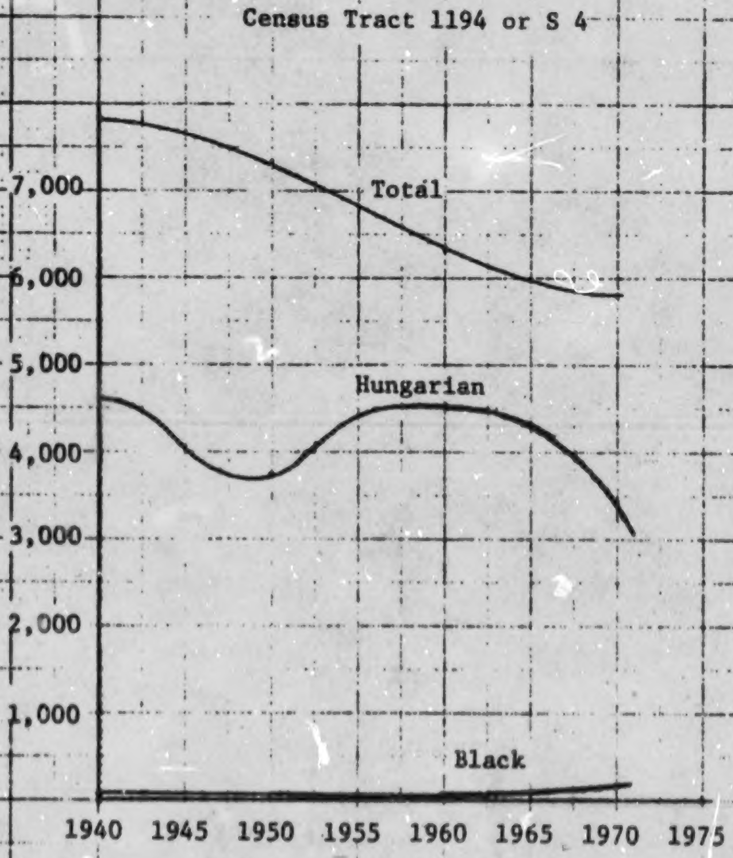
YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	MIXED %	NATIVE WHITE
1930	8,461	8	3,087	3,947	1,415

Census Tract 1194 or S 4

YEAR	TOTAL POP.	TOTAL WHITE	TOTAL BLACK	% BLACK	HUNGARIAN BORN (CENSUS)	HUNGARIAN BORN (ADJUSTED)	TOTAL HUNGARIAN (ADJUSTED)
1940	7,869	5,393*	36		1,536	2,304	4,608
1950	7,369	7,350	19		1,251	1,876	3,753
1960	6,350	6,333	7		2,028	3,042	4,563
1970	5,804	5,612	160	2.8	1,540	2,310	3,465


East Blvd.
Cleve. Hts.
Shaker Hts.
E126
Shaker Blvd.
E1 116
A
E126
Forest Ave.

A - Heavy Hungarian, traditionally Hungarian between Forest and Shaker Blvd.


Census Tract 1194 or S 4
Total
Hungarian
Black
7,000
6,000
5,000
4,000
3,000
2,000
1,000
1940
1945
1950
1955
1960
1965
1970
1975

Census Tract 1195 or S 5

(Howard Whipple Greene)

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION
1910	123	0
1920	1,597	0
1930	3,981	38

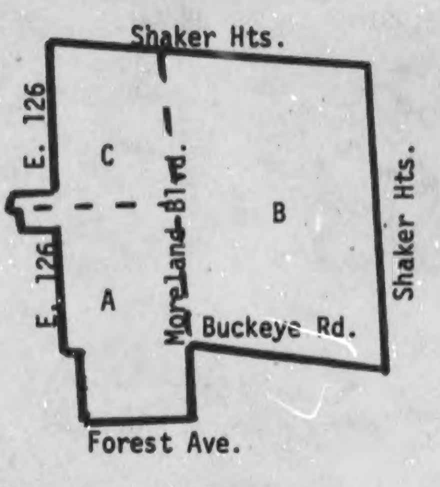
YEAR	AGE	TOTAL	PERCENT
1930	under 15	698	12
	15 - 29	938	16
	30 - 44	1,219	21
	45 - 59	1,673	29
	60 and up	1,284	22

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	MIXED %	NATIVE WHITE
1930	3,981	38	961	1,507	1,475

Census Tract 1195 or S 5

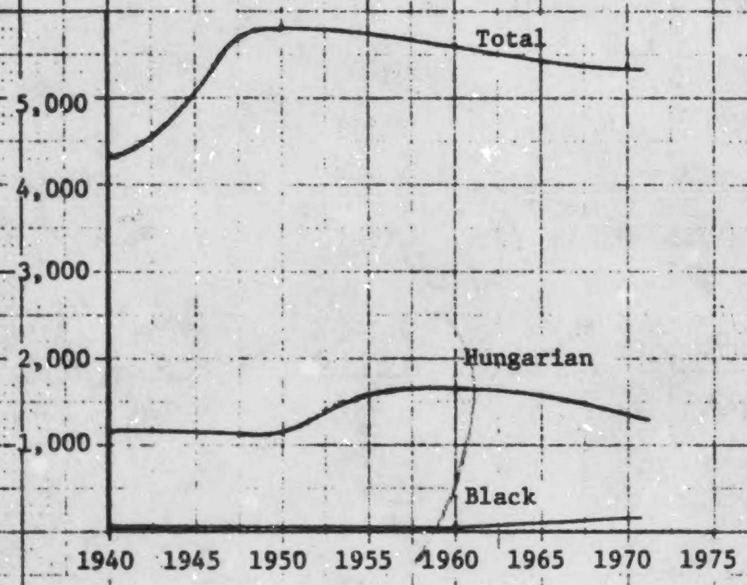
YEAR	TOTAL POP.	TOTAL WHITE	TOTAL BLACK	% BLACK	HUNGARIAN BORN (CENSUS)	HUNGARIAN BORN (ADJUSTED)	TOTAL HUNGARIAN (ADJUSTED)
1940	4,320	3,501	43		383	574	1,149
1950	5,812*	5,788	24		374	564	1,128
1960	5,627	5,601	26		733	1,099	1,649
1970	5,372	5,612	160	2.8	599	898	1,349

*Increase due to new housing capacity, high rise apartments around Shaker Square


Shaker Hts.
E. 126
C
Moreland Blvd.
B
Shaker Hts.
E. 126
A
Buckeye Rd.
Forest Ave.

A - Hungarian portion
B - North Ludlow and Shaker Hts. School District
C - New Hungarian area since 1970

Census Tract 1195 or S 5



Census Tract 1196 or S 6

(Howard Whipple Greene)

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION
1910	1,365	0
1920	3,627	0
1930	6,468	1

YEAR	AGE	TOTAL	PERCENT
1930	under 15	1,218	21
	15 - 29	1,290	22
	30 - 44	1,506	26
	45 - 59	1,056	18
	60 and up	757	13

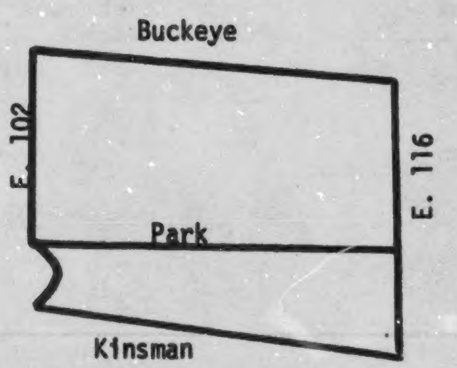
YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	MIXED %	NATIVE WHITE
1930	6,468	1	2,327	3,436	704

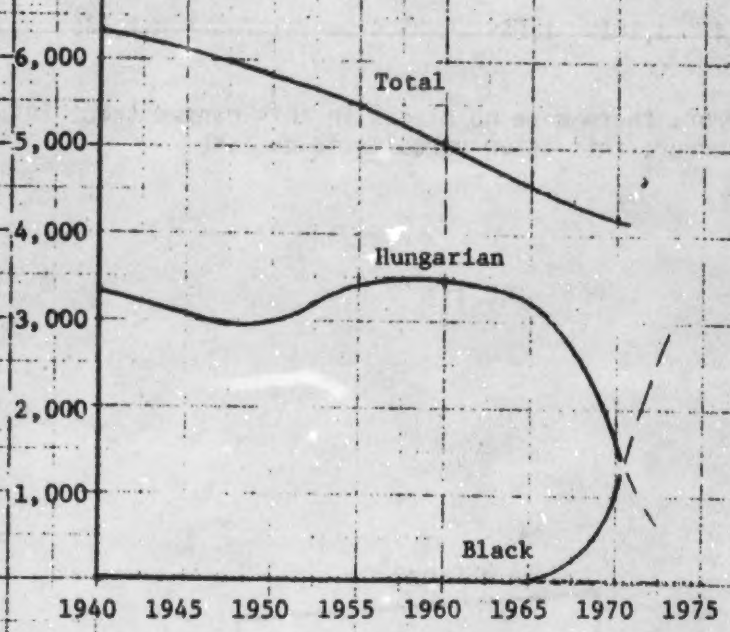
Census Tract 1196 or S 6

(Traditional Hungarian-Slovak, and built by
Hungarians and Slovaks)

YEAR	TOTAL POP.	TOTAL WHITE	TOTAL BLACK	% BLACK	HUNGARIAN BORN (CENSUS)	HUNGARIAN BORN (ADJUSTED)	TOTAL HUNGARIAN (ADJUSTED)
1940	6,326	6,325	0		1,101	1,651	3,303
1950	5,827	5,811	0		636**	954	1,908
1960	5,089	4,787	300*		1,524	2,286	3,429
1970	4,214	3,101	1,069	25.4	717	1,075	1,613

*Census error, there were no Blacks in this census tract in 1960
**Apparent error; this is an unrealistic decline





Census Tract 1196 or S 6

Census Tract 1197 or S 7

(Howard Whipple Greene)

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION
1910	129	0
1920	3,375	9
1930	7,822	69

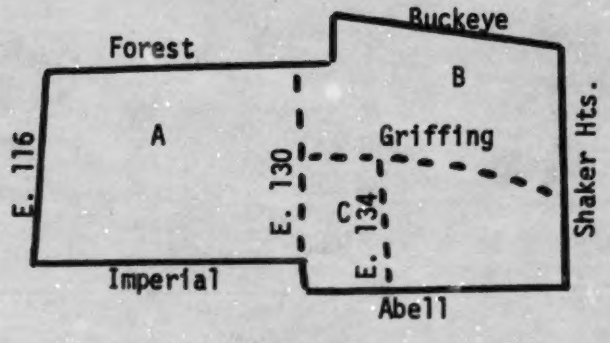
YEAR	AGE	TOTAL	PERCENT
1930	under 15	1,443	19
	15 - 29	1,509	20
	30 - 44	1,962	26
	45 - 59	1,608	22
	60 and up	981	13

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	MIXED %	NATIVE WHITE
1930	7,822	69	2,868	3,914	971

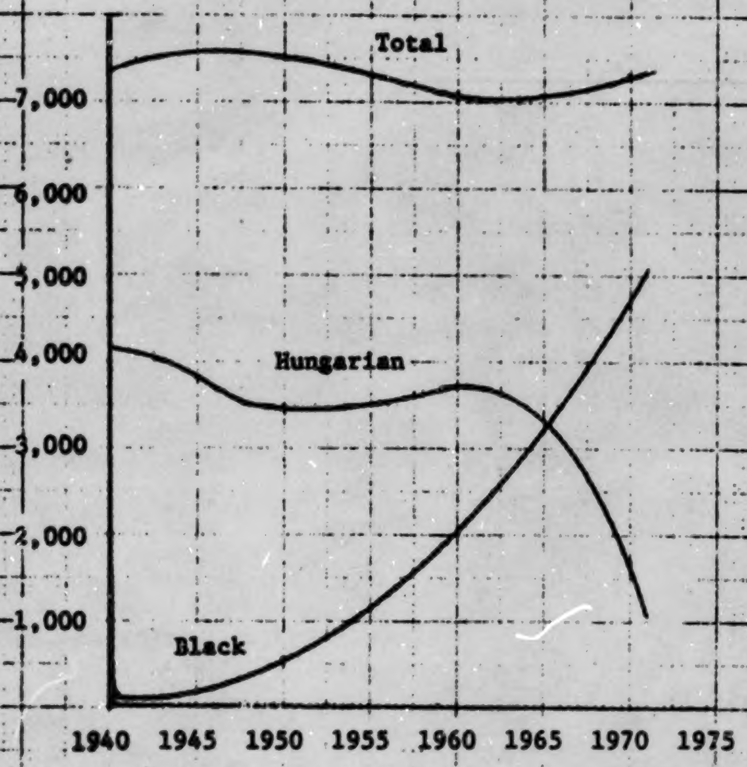
Census Tract 1197 or S 7

YEAR	TOTAL POP.	TOTAL WHITE	TOTAL BLACK	% BLACK	HUNGARIAN BORN (CENSUS)	HUNGARIAN BORN (ADJUSTED)	TOTAL HUNGARIAN (ADJUSTED)
1940	7,348	7,155	192		1,396	2,094	4,188
1950	7,505	6,956	549		1,163	1,744	3,488
1960	7,089	5,061	2,023		1,658	2,487	3,730
1965*	7,031	4,092	2,939	41.0			
1970	7,320	2,526	4,673	63.8	751	1,135	1,702
1973 (est.)	7,500	1,000					

*East End Records


Buckeye
Forest
B
A
E. 116
Griffing
E. 130
C
E. 134
Shaker Hts.
Imperial
Abell

A - Hungarian Built
B - Ludlow Community (1940) Part of Buckeye
C - Not Part of Buckeye



Census Tract 1197 or S 7

Census Tract 1198 or S 8

(Howard Whipple Greene)

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION
1910	145	40
1920	3,789	471
1930	9,166	1,319

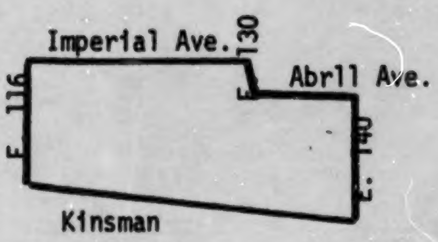
YEAR	AGE	TOTAL	PERCENT
1930	under 15	1,904	22
	15 - 29	2,082	24
	30 - 44	2,192	25
	45 - 59	1,702	19
	60 and up	903	10

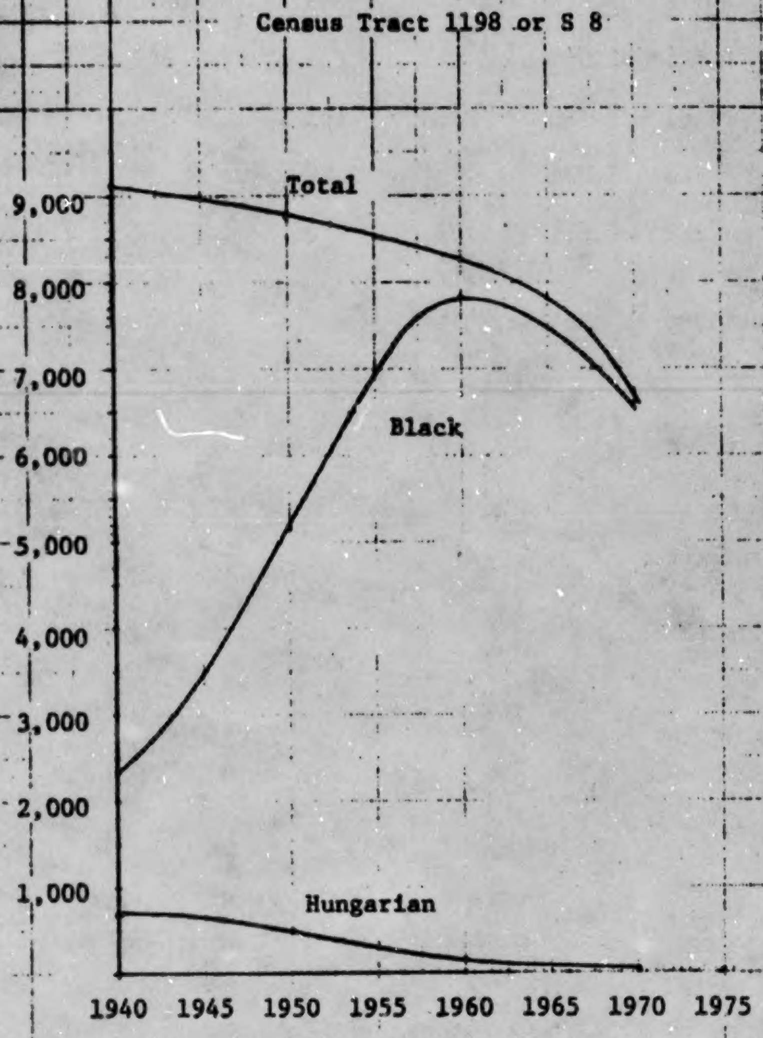
YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	MIXED %	NATIVE WHITE
1930	9,166	1,319	3,131	3,795	917

Census Tract 1198 or S 8

YEAR	TOTAL POP.	TOTAL WHITE	TOTAL BLACK	% BLACK	HUNGARIAN BORN (CENSUS)	HUNGARIAN BORN (ADJUSTED)	TOTAL HUNGARIAN (ADJUSTED)
1940	9,137	4,441*	2,368		233	349	698
1950	8,783	3,591	5,192		163	244	489
1960	8,286	453	7,824		59	88	132
1970	6,774	122	6,631	97.9	0	0	0

*Total White defined as "Native White"


Imperial Ave.
E. 130
Abril Ave.
E. 116
E. 140
Kinsman


Census Tract 1198 or S 8
Total
Black
Hungarian
9,000
8,000
7,000
6,000
5,000
4,000
3,000
2,000
1,000
1940
1945
1950
1955
1960
1965
1970
1975

Census Tract 1202 or T 2

(Howard Whipple Greene)

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION
1910	1,135	1
1920	5,035	10
1930	6,103	7

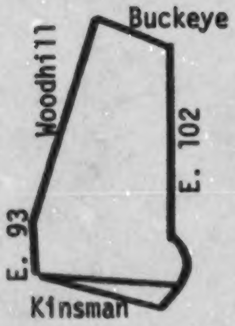
YEAR	AGE	TOTAL	PERCENT
1930	under 15	1,110	19
	15 - 29	1,181	22
	30 - 44	1,288	24
	45 - 59	959	18
	60 and up	771	15

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	MIXED %	NATIVE WHITE
1930	6,103	7	1,808	3,082	1,206

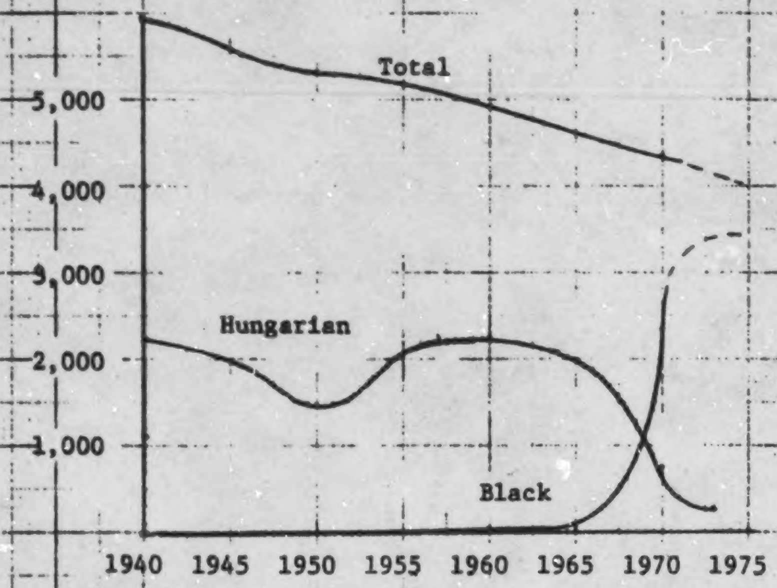
Census Tract 1202 or T 2

(Traditional Hungarian-Slovak)

YEAR	TOTAL POP.	TOTAL WHITE	TOTAL BLACK	% BLACK	HUNGARIAN BORN (CENSUS)	HUNGARIAN BORN (ADJUSTED)	TOTAL HUNGARIAN (ADJUSTED)
1940	5,935	6,135	0		740	1,110	2,220
1950	5,309	5,309			494	741	1,482
1960	4,921	4,899	20		1,020	1,530	2,295
1970	4,379	2,009	2,358	53.8	335	502	753


Buckeye
Woodhill
E. 102
E. 93
Kinsman

Census Tract 1202 or T 2



Estimates 1973

Total 4,000
Total Black 3,200
Total Hungarian 256

1950-1960 Growth

a) movement from lower Buckeye
b) DP's
c) 1956'ers

FOOTNOTES

[1] Kosar, Dominc. G. History of Hungary. The Benjamin Franklin Bibliophile Society, Cleveland. 1941. p. XVIII.

[2] Ibid., pp. 138-184.

[3] Recently the area has also been referred to as "Buckeye-Woodland-Woodhill" or "The East End Neighborhood House area."

[4] Refer to the demographic census section.

[5] Upper Hungary (Felso Magyararszag) Hungarians refer to what is today politically Slovokia and Ruthenia (U.S.S.R.).

[6] Kaldor, Kalman, Magyar Amerika Zraskancs Kephen. Hungarian Publishing Company, St. Louis, Mo. 1939. p. 27.

[7] Kende, p. 45. The Hungarians place the family name prior to the given name. Unless translated, this order will not be disturbed.

[8] Fishman, Joshua A. Hungarian Language Maintenance in the United States. Indiana University Publications, Vol. 62 of the Uralic Altoic Series, 1966, p. 2.

[9] Ibid., p. 2.

[10] Boros, Ethel, Cleveland Plain Dealer. Staff writer also Joseph J. Horvath, our research team member.

[11] See historical census tracts below.

[12] Kende, p. 162.

[13] Kende, pp. 162-182.

[14] Kende, p. 275.

[15] From a statement by Mary Timko, secretary at general meeting in about 1968.

[16] From an unpulished paper by Daniel F. Reidy, Ph.D. "Major Institutional Interventions in the Buckeye Community." 1974.

[17] Reidy, Daniel F., Op. cit.

[18] Supplied by Rev. Edward Orosz, our research team member (Father was minister at Holton Elizabeth Baptist Church).

[19] Statistics from 1925 to 1960 supplied by Joseph Chelenko (Father was a businessman on lower Buckeye.). Later statistics from Buckeye Business Directory. 1972. Rev. Orosz, J. Chelenko, J. Palasics.

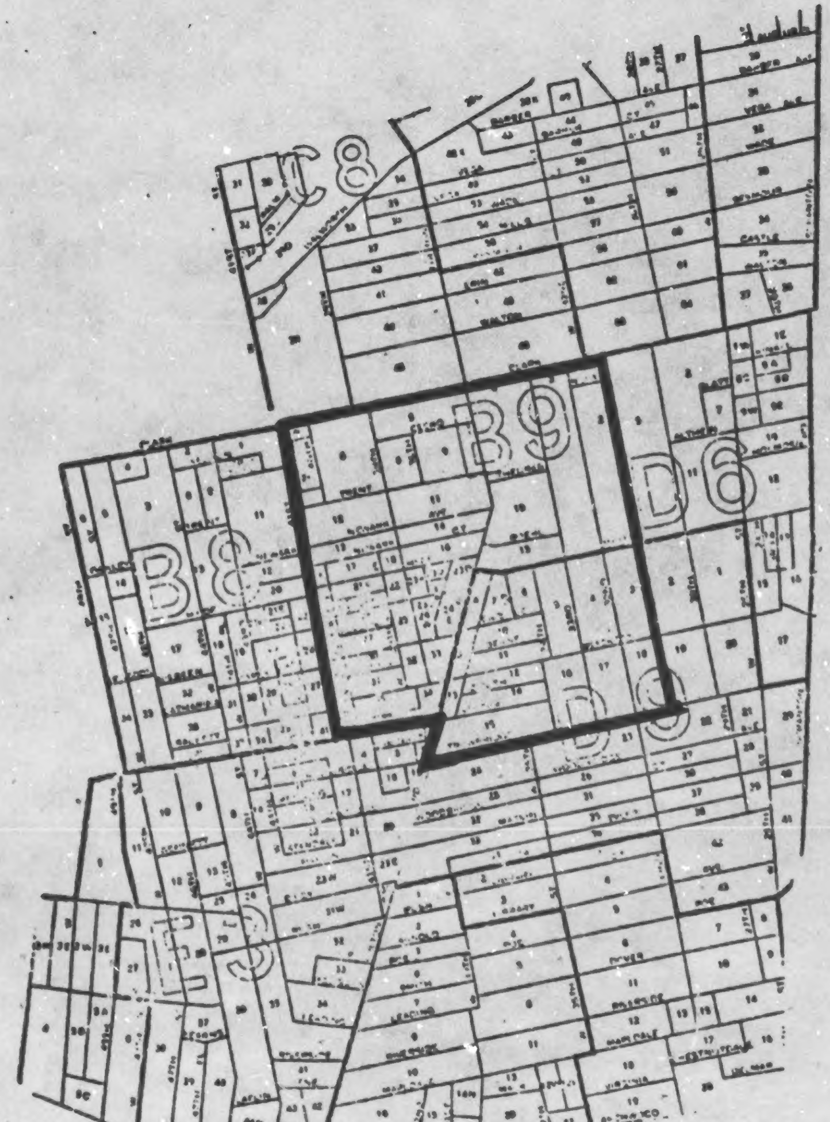
[20] From the preliminary survey for this project.

[21] It is being recommended that this theatre be set aside as a national landmark.

Map 11.

Italian St. Rocco's Neighborhood by Census Tract

1970



Development of the Italian St. Rocco's Neighborhood

Italian Emigration

Italian emigration to America before 1880 contrasts sharply with that which followed. Until 1861, the year in which Garibaldi unified Italy, very few Italians came to the United States. Those who did emigrate were landowners, businessmen, professional men, and students seeking political asylum from the war torn northern provinces. Being skilled and few in number there was little need for them to band together in colonies for mutual protection.[1] Although emigration from Northern Italy continued after 1880, it was overshadowed by that from Central and Southern Italy with Abruzzi-Molise, Calabria, Basilicata, Campania, Sicily and Marches representing the primary localities of departure.[2]

Unlike their northern compatriots, the southern Italians emigrated primarily for economic reasons. Without property, they were victims of an agricultural system of exploitation. Sicilian farmers sometimes had to "loan" their sons to the owners of sulphur mines in payment of debt. Thus, a kind of debt peonage had evolved.[3] Since the southern Italian could not depend on the Italian government to solve his problems, he came to view as his country any place where he could find bread.[4] Italian political spokesmen like Senator L. Bodio argued that:

> Emigration is for Italy grounded in necessity. Two or three hundred thousand persons a year must go from us in order that those who stay may find work . . . . Migrations are ordained by Providence. In the social order their task is analogous to that of the ocean and air currents in the physical, which spread movement and life throughout the earth.[5]

Italian Immigration to Cleveland

Many of the Italians attracted to Cleveland sought an industrial and urban climate where quick financial gain would enable them to return to their native villages as independent farmers or businessmen. One of Cleveland's leading Italian-American businessmen explained:

> America, as it is believed to be even today . . . is a mirage. If one does not come here in person to see for himself, he believes he will find gold nuggets on the sidewalk. Actually, if one does not work hard and without stopping for even one day, one can not, will not, live. The dollar is made of sweat and endless sacrifices. But for those who came as we did, not knowing the language, and in the era in which we came, life was cruel . . . . I called to mind all the talk I heard on the ship. Someone had said, "I shall stay in America for a few years. I shall make stern sacrifices, but then I shall return home, buy a mule and a cart, and no longer have to till the soil . . ." One after another, they all were out to seek their fortunes, many to send their sons to school to become doctors, lawyers, or engineers to fill the professional void in their little villages. Poor immigrants. How many dreams they had, dreams that vanished all too quickly when they came into contact with harsh reality.[7]*

---

*Near the end of 1907, a letter to the editor appeared in the Cleveland News signed with the initials G.A.M. The writer complained about the hordes of Italian immigrants who returned home with cash from the United States. The editor's answer was that most of those who return home after having tasted the American way of life are disillusioned in the old country and are only too glad to get back to the United States to spend the rest of their lives, and so long as the foreigner lives here he must live, thus contributing his share to the city's trade: buying, eating, and paying rent.

Most of Cleveland's Italians found it impossible to return to Italy, but if they could not return to Italy they had at least found a place where one could eat bread. Most important, family values would be maintained and family advancement promoted.

A few Italians arrived in 1862 and settled in the Ontario Street market district known as the Hay Market in the vicinity of Central and Broadway. They found employment in the local factories, Berea quarries, and marble works on Mayfield Road where they later started a colony known as "Little Italy."[8]

Beginning in 1870, Italians and other immigrants were crowding into the Hay Market district. Nearby on "Whiskey Hill" were the worst tenements in Cleveland. It was an impoverished area with the highest birth and death rates in the city. Residential segregation crowded Italians into old housing and low rents. While all immigrant groups were confined to particular areas of the city, whether near the core or on the periphery, the 10,836 foreign born Italians in 1910 and the 18,288 in 1920, were segregated to a greater extent from native whites than from Blacks. This was a unique instance among all ethnic groups.[9]

As they built their communities, Cleveland's Italians laid the foundations for the development of an ethnic solidarity that would have been the envy of Italy herself. Italian ethnicity can be understood best if we recall that the Italian immigrant brought no sense of nationality with him. It was in the American setting that Cleveland's Italian immigrants became aware of being Italian.

From the beginning the nucleus of Italian ethnicity has been the family. The family has been the center for the transmission of values that encompass social, political, economic, religious, and cultural training. Cleveland's Italians may have been transplanted but they were not uprooted. The Little Italies that appeared on the Cleveland scene were more than laboratories where acculturation occurred. They were incubators that spawned ethnicity.[10]

The ethnic communities they founded included Italians from many villages. Each group had its own traditions, customs, patron saint and dialect. Their first American experience was to learn how to live with each other. Thus the Italian-American communities that emerged in Cleveland witnessed Italians intermarrying, sharing customs, traditions, native saints and even an Italian-American language, a mixture of Italian and American words.[11] The new ethnicity that developed was tempered, however, by the persistence of the concept of paesani. Only those from the native village were true paesani. Today, one can still witness the survival of village loyalties within the various "hometown societies" in Cleveland's Italian community.

There is a diversity among Cleveland's Italians, but diversity is not the same as separation. The new ethnicity involved the sharing of a common Italian-American heritage out of which Italian-American institutions were formed. Among the institutions that appeared, the Italian nationality church was one of the most instrumental in promoting "Italianita."[12] The nationality church was the outgrowth of an ethnic awareness that began to express itself by the late 1880's. Cleveland's Italians found in the American setting an Irish-dominated church which they viewed as foreign and inadequate in meeting their needs. There were no Italian speaking priests nor was there any respect for Italian religious customs and traditions. Consequently the Bishop of Cleveland was pressured by the 500 Italians who lived in the Hay Market district to send for an Italian priest. Father Pacifico Capitani arrived from Rome in July 1886, and on May 8, 1887, the first Italian nationality church in the state was dedicated to St. Anthony,[13] on Carnegie Avenue near 14th Street.

As the Italian community increased in numbers, more nationality churches were established, and by 1937, six major parishes had been formed in Cleveland serving as many separate Italian communities in the city.[14] During the post World War II period a gradual decentralization of the Italian communities began. The causes of the decentralization are many but the effect on the nationality churches has not been serious.

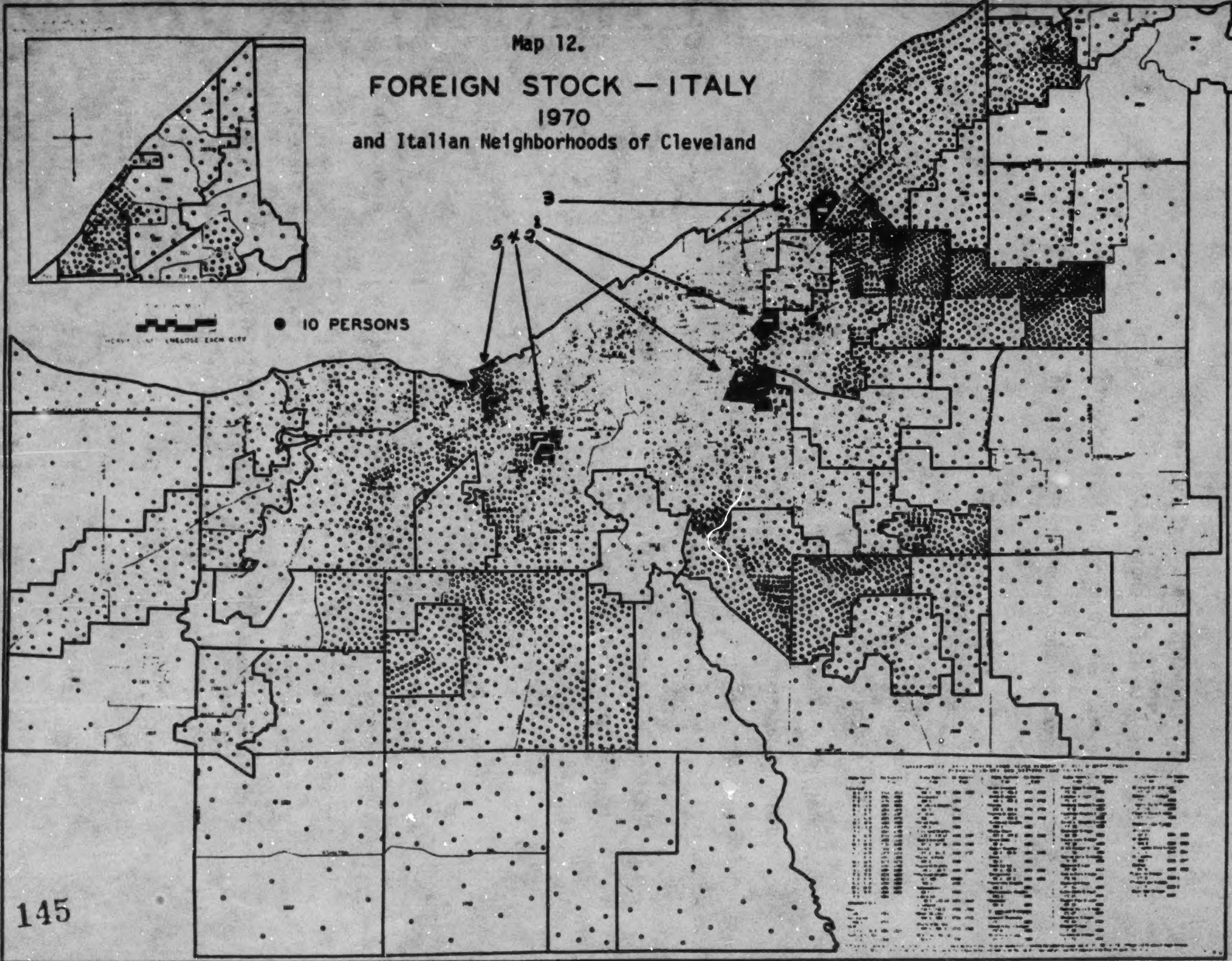
Today there remain five fairly concentrated communities in Greater Cleveland (See Map 12):

1) Little Italy on Mayfield and Murray Hill; also known as the Holy Rosary Parish.
2) Woodland Avenue and East Boulevard; part of the Woodland Hills Social Planning Area.
3) In the South Collinwood Social Planning Area.
4) On Cleveland's West Side around St. Rocco's Church on Fulton Road.

5) At West 69th Street and Detroit Avenue; Our Lady of Mt. Carmel Church.

The parishes in these neighborhoods continue as strong promoters of Italian ethnicity. The Italian language is preserved in religious services. Many Italian-American customs and traditions continue in religious festivals and activities celebrated in street parades honoring patron saints, such as St. Rocco and others. But most important, the ethnic church remains a vehicle for family solidarity as those who leave the community return for services, festivals, and meetings.

An examination of the history of Cleveland's Italian nationality churches reveals the gradual development of an Italian-American heritage. Because Cleveland's Italian community was representative of many Central and Southern Italian villages, it was not feasible for any single group of paesani to build its own church. Since common effort was necessary, the nationality churches became catalysts for solidifying the various paesani into a uniquely Italian-American ethnicity. In fact, the names of the five Italian nationality churches reflect this ethnicity. Naturally, each group of paesani would have preferred dedicating the church to the patron saint of its native village. Instead they chose names like St. Anthony or St. Rocco since these were more acceptable to all Italians, and certainly none could argue with naming a church Holy Redeemer, Holy Rosary or Mount Carmel. Still the Italians did not forget their patron saints. Statues of each saint adorn the side altars in the churches. Each group of paesani


3
1
5 4 2
● 10 PERSONS

Map 12.

FOREIGN STOCK — ITALY
1970
and Italian Neighborhoods of Cleveland

(With permission of Real Property Inventory) held its own banquet and street parade to honor its patron saint. One of the nationality churches, for example, celebrated banquets for twenty-two patron saints and, in addition, organized twelve street parades honoring patron saints during the summer months.[15]

St. Rocco's Neighborhood

Today one of the most ethnically active Italian neighborhoods is St. Rocco's on the West Side of Cleveland. This neighborhood grew out of an Italian colony that had begun to develop near the Fulton Road area. When the old Hay Market burned down, many families settled in this predominantly German area because there were many factories to provide work for them. Although some of these factories were condemned at the end of the 19th century, they are still operating today either because of official negligence or a general need for work.

St. Rocco's Church

A few men from this colony joined together in 1915 and built a small chapel on Trent Avenue where they held the first celebration in honor of St. Rocco. It was not until 1922 that the Bishop of Cleveland recognized the little church, and in 1924, Father Sante Gattuso was named pastor.[16] During his thirty-two year pastorate, Father Gattuso built St. Rocco's into one of the leading Italian nationality churches in Cleveland.

Father Gattuso's dreams of a new church, school, parish house, and sisters' house would never have been realized had he depended on his weekly collections of ten dollars. A bazaar held in the fall of 1924 brought in about fourteen hundred dollars. With this money Father Gattuso purchased a lot on Fulton Road and by 1926, a building was completed on the property which included a temporary church, a hall and four classrooms in the basement where St. Rocco's School opened in 1927 to first and second graders.[17]

The years that followed this modest beginning were years of growth. Despite the general economic depression of the 1930's and weekly collections of frequently less than $30, a new school and parish house were built.[18] A loan floated in 1937 through the sale of bonds, worth $500 each, erased the parish debt; the bonds were paid off by 1944. Under the leadership of Father Gattuso, the community whose members were bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers, and stonemasons by trade emerged stronger than ever from the depression years.[19]

There remained one last building program, a new church to serve the growing Italian community. For many years members cognizant of this fact patiently collected bricks for this task. The old wrecked brick kilns on Canal Road and various other wrecking sites provided sources for building materials which were stored on the church grounds. Bricks, stones and slabs of marble were easily accessible to the men of the parish since many of them worked on construction jobs throughout the city. In time this junkyard of materials was assembled by devoted and skilled men into a beautiful structure seating 750.[20]

The new St. Rocco Church measures one hundred and twenty by eighty feet. No pillars obstruct the view of the main altar, which is made of imported Italian marble.[21] The church is a magnificent monument to the talents and devotion of members of an Italian community who spent much time and labor in order to preserve their religious and cultural traditions. The ethnic feeling that comes to the Italian-American of this West Side community is enhanced as they realize that St. Rocco's is an integral part of their Italian-American heritage.

St. Rocco's School

St. Rocco's school continues to perpetuate this ethnicity not only among the elementary children but also among those of high school age who attend youth meetings at the school. Yet, the school is limited in what it can do. State education requirements as well as Diocesan obligations have tended to discourage ethnic training. The one imposes a structure curriculum, the other financial obligations upon the parish. Both drain the community of time, money and talent that otherwise might be used for ethnic programs. Until the early 1950's, the youth at St. Rocco's were exposed to five years of training in the Italian language. Awards were presented to those who attained a certain proficiency in Italian. Even school plays were conducted in the native language.[22]

But overcrowding conditions after the war forced many young couples to move to nearby suburbs. To take care of their transportation needs, a bus service was established by the parish, but high operating costs forced the parish to discontinue this service in 1969 and school enrollment fell substantially. In 1927, there were 159 children enrolled. No enrollment figures are available for the years from 1928 to 1943 because no records were kept during this time. The total enrollment since 1944 amounts to 10,212.

Enrollment in St. Rocco's Catholic School
(3205 Fulton Road, Cleveland, Ohio)

Year	Number of Students	Year	Number of Students
1944-45	255	1960-61	435
1945-46	260	1961-62	506
1946-47	260	1962-63	526
1947-48	252	1963-64	422
1948-49	244	1964-65	496
1949-50	240	1965-66	509
1950-51	234	1966-67	466
1951-52	236	1967-68	433
1952-53	275	1968-69	406
1953-54	258	1969-70	349
1954-55	271	1970-71	334
1955-56	284	1971-72	286
1956-57	299	1972-73	229
1957-58	349	1973-74	240
1958-59	359		
1959-60	399		

Festivals

Two of the four original religious festivals involving street parades have continued.[23] One of these, a strictly religious procession held on Good Friday and lasting from 6:30 p.m. until 8:30 p.m. has continued for over 50 years. In this procession all of the statues of saints traditionally associated with the Lord's passion are carried for two miles through the streets of the parish. The second street procession is the one honoring St. Rocco, the patron saint of the parish. The statues of St. Rocco, St. Anthony, and Mother Cabrini are carried through the streets in a procession which lasts for two hours. Unlike the Good Friday celebration, this festival continues for several days and involves both the religious traditions with a nine day novena preceding the festival and commercial activities which provide the monies needed to support the church for the coming year. In 1974, the festival is expected to bring in $60,000.[24] Several months of preparation are involved, and the festivities have become a kind of "homecoming" for those who have moved from the neighborhood.

The history of the street processions reveals that the Italians had been accustomed to a state-supported church in Italy. The immigrants in Cleveland had difficulty adjusting to the weekly collection system. Consequently, the nationality church needed to find other ways to motivate the Italians to contribute. The procession with the fiesta that followed offered a solution. Before the statue of the patron saint was taken to the streets it was draped with streamers. As it traveled in the procession, money was pinned to the streamers by fiesta-goers.[25] This custom remains today. In the immigrants' early experience the street processions also provided an outlet for social and recreational activities at a time when the opportunities for such expression were limited. Finally, they enhanced the development of active Italian-American societies that enriched the city's cultural life. Each society is represented in the parade with banners carried by the members.

Societies

It is in the various Italian-American social organizations that the third stronghold of ethnic vitality resides. Supporting the family and the church in the St. Rocco parish are fifteen such groups.[26] They are:

The Home Family Club
Ladies Aux. Home Family Club
West Side Italo-American Civic Committee
Noicattarese Club
Giuseppe Mazzine Lodge
North Italian Club, Inc.
Ladies' Aux. North Italian Club
The Trentina Club
St. Rocco's PTU
Holy Family Sodality of St. Rocco Church
St. Rocco Holy Name Society
Mercede Society (St. Rocco)
Sante Catholic Union
Knights of St. John Comm. #330
St. Rocco's Parish Federal Credit Union

The most important of these are the Trentina Club, the Noicattarese Club, and the North Italian Club. All three own their meeting halls. The first two are hometown societies. Their membership is open only to those Italian-Americans whose ancestors emigrated from a particular paesi. At no time is English spoken in the hometown societies' meetings.

It is easy to understand why the local hometown societies were first to organize themselves. Although the Italians had come to Cleveland from many different sections of Italy, several families frequently came from the same village. The natural tendency was for these paesani to seek each other out and to remain in close contact. Whenever possible they made their homes close together, sometimes on the same street. The Italians formed more hometown societies than any other nationality group in the city.[27]

These societies did not come into existence because Cleveland's Italians were uprooted; they were established to strengthen an identity the paesani already possessed. Each group of paesani feared being absorbed by Cleveland's greater Italian community. Meeting on a weekly basis, they reminisced in the dialect of their native village, maintained family acquaintances so that their children would know each other, and continued ties with the native village that occasionally involved financial assistance.[28]

Cleveland's Italian hometown societies served as mutual aid associations. The paesani buried their own dead, cared for the widow and the orphan, found employment for the unemployed and housing for those without shelter.[29] The hometown societies were not mere pizza and sausage clubs whose membership sat around playing cards and "bocce" on Sunday afternoon; they were active participants in community affairs. Citizenship took on a special meaning as the societies realized the voice it gave them in local affairs. The paesani were always ready to support any good Italian seeking office regardless of political party. An example of this can be seen in the case of Alexander "Sonny" De Maioribus, the first person of Italian descent elected to the Cleveland City

Council. De Maioribus had substantial support from the various hometown societies. Otherwise he could never have held office as a Republican in an Italian community that supported the Democratic Party.[30]

Naturally, the hometown societies were proud when those who achieved were paesani, but the advancement of a few depended on the support from the many. Consequently, the promotion of "Italianalita" and the development of ethnic awareness became as sacred to each society as the concern for the welfare of its own group. A common ethnicity emerged out of the necessity of the hometown societies to prepare their paesani for the American experience. At their meetings papers pointing to the achievements of Italian-Americans were read. By studying Italian history they became cognizant of where they had been as Italians, and this gave them confidence and pride in their ethnic heritage as Italian-Americans.

Business Community

In 1912, Giovanni Zaccaro opened the first Italian business in the area, a grocery store at 3557 Trent Avenue. The store quickly became a meeting place for many community projects including the organization of St. Rocco festivals. In the 1930's with the dissolution of the Lo Presti, Gallucci, Zannoni business partnership which operated from Woodland Avenue, Mr. Ettore Zannoni opened his own Import store on Clark and Fulton Avenue. The store, known also as Cleveland Import, is today the leading Italian business establishment of the area.

As shown by the following table, the number of businesses around St. Rocco's neighborhood has been declining since 1950. For lack of incentives, many businessmen, rather than remodel existing structures, prefer to resettle in nearby suburbs.

St. Rocco Area Businesses

	1930	1950	1970
Appliances	2	2	4
Attorneys	1	2	-
Auto Parts	4	6	3
Bakery	3	5	3
Barber	12	8	3
Bowling	-	1	-
Carpenter	1	2	-
Confr.	4	4	-
Contractors	3	9	7
Beauty Parlors	4	4	2
Butcher & Grocery	42	21	5
Candy Store	3	11	3
Clothing Cleaner	3	5	2
Costume Shop	3	1	-
Dairy	2	2	1
Doctors (M.D.)	3	1	-
Dentists	2	1	-
Dance Hall	1	4	1
Florists	1	1	1
Furniture	-	-	-
Funeral Homes	1	3	-
Flooring	-	1	-
Glass	-	1	-
Greeting Cards	-	1	-
Gas Stations	4	5	-
Hardware	5	4	-
Jewelry	4	1	-
Lumber	-	1	-
Manufacturing	1	15	10
Machine Shop	2	13	4
Music	-	1	1
Metal Shop	1	5	3
Movers	-	-	1
Photo	1	-	-
Paint	6	4	2

	1930	1950	1970
Printing	1	3	2
Plumbing	4	1	1
Poultry	-	-	-
Restaurant	2	4	7
Real Estate	6	2	-
Shoe Store	2	-	-
Shoe Repair	4	4	1
Sporting Goods	-	1	-
Tin Shop	2	-	1
Wallpaper	1	1	2
Dry Goods	5	2	1
Billiards	3	-	-
Paper Hanger	2	-	-
Watch Maker	1	-	-
Blankets	1	-	1
Optometrists	1	5	3
Trucking	-	1	1
Wine and Beer	-	8	3
Clarb Cabel Corp	-	-	3
Repair Services	2	3	6
Refrigerator	1	2	2
Savings & Loans	-	-	2
Garage	-	2	2
Misc.	6	11	19
TOTAL	157	180	113

Demographic Data

Of the 64,018 people living in Cleveland in 1870, only 35 were from Italy. From 1880 on, however, their numbers sharply increased. Presently Clevelanders of Italian estraction represent the second largest white ethnic group (after Appalachians) with 67,000 people living in the Cleveland Metropolitan area.

Year	Total Number of Persons Born in Italy (Cuyahoga County)	
1870		35
1880		
1890	635	635
1900	3,065	3,065
1919	10,836	10,836
1920	18,288	19,438
1930	23,524	26,218
1940	20,961*	24,033*
1950	15,630**	19,973**
1960		17,892
1970		15,158

---

*Many Italians returned to Italy due to World War II.

**This figure represents "foreign stock" defined as foreign born persons and persons of foreign and mixed parentage. The Donald Levy Report (op. cit.) lists 62,646 persons of Italian extraction living in the Greater Cleveland area.

Second and third generation Italians who kept their ethnic identity are excluded from the above figures. The totals would be much higher if these categories were added.

Of the Italian neighborhoods in Cleveland, St. Rocco is one of the earliest and smallest, but it has shown remarkable stability through the years. Italian immigrants began to settle and concentrate around St. Rocco at the turn of the century. By 1930, 40% of the neighborhood's population was born in Italy and only 14% were native born. Since then the ratio of foreign born to native born has remained at 1:6.

Census Tract B-9 (1029)

Year	Italian*	Total
1910		3,272
1920		4,139
1930	759	4,251
1940	655	4,254
1950	869	3,907
1960	804	3,585
1970	597	2,876

---

*These figures include only foreign born Italians. If foreign stock Italians and those who kept their ethnic identity were added, the totals would be substantially higher. Based on the estimate for 1973 municipal elections prepared by Mr. Vito Sanitato, approximately 35% of the local population is of Italian extraction.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Federal Work Project Administration. *The People's of Cleveland*, prepared by the Workers of the Writer's Program, Cleveland, 1942, p. 129.

[2] Foerster, Robert F. *The Italian Emigration of Our Times*. Cambridge. Harvard University Press, 1919, p. 529.

[3] *Ibid*., pp. 85-86.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 102.

[5] *Ibid*., p. 475.

[6] *Ibid*., p. 476.

[7] Interview with Frank Alesci, Italian Immigrant, Feb. 2, 1965.

[8] Rose, William Ganson. *The Making of a City*, p. 296.

[9] *Ibid*., p. 14.

[10] Ware, Carolyn. "Cultural Groups in the United States." *The Cultural Approach to History*. New York. 1940.

[11] See Robert J. DePietro, "Borrowing: Its Effect as a Mechanism of Linguistic Change in American Sicilian." *General Linguistics*, Vol. V, No. 1. Lexington. University of Kentucky Department of Foreign Languages, 1961.

[12] Italianalita is best translated as "the Italian feeling."

[13] *Cleveland Press*, March 7, 1934.

[14] Andrica, Theodore and Suster, Anthony J. (eds.). *All Nationalities Directory*. Cleveland. The Cleveland Press and The Nationalities Services Center, 1961, p. 53-54.

[15] Banquets or Feast Days were held in honor of the following twenty-two religious figures. Those marked with an asterisk were street processions. *Our Lady of the Poor; *Saint Lucy; *Our Lady of Consolation; *Saint Leo, patronal feast of the people of Longi; Saint Sebastian; Blessed John Liccio de Cacomo; Holy Cross, celebrated by the people of Termini Imerese; Our Lady of the Annunciation, celebrated by the people of Bronte; Saint Sisto, patron of Alife; Blessed Augustine, celebrated by the people of Termini Imerese; *Saint Rosalie of Palermo; *Saint Silvester, of Troina; *Saint Biagio, of Milite Rosmario; *Saint Nicholas Politi of Alcara li Fusi, Our Lady of Jerusalem; *The Sorrowful Mother; *Our Lady of Mount Carmel; *Saint Galogero and Saint Gaetano,

double patrons; The Assumption; The Immaculate Conception; The Holy Crucifix of Carina and *Saint Anthony.

[16] Souvenir Book of the History and Progress of St. Rocco's Parish, p. 8.

[17] Ibid., pp. 8-10.

[18] The Catholic Universe Bulletin. Cleveland. March 14, 1952.

[19] Souvenir Book of the History and Progress of St. Rocco's Parish, p. 8.

[20] The Plain Dealer. Cleveland. February 24, 1952.

[21] The Catholic Universe Bulletin. Cleveland. March 14, 1952.

[22] Interview with James Tortelli, St. Rocco resident, April 30, 1973.

[23] Interview with Father Andrew L. Costanzo, Pastor of St. Rocco's Church, June 3, 1973.

[24] Interview with Father Michael, Pastor of St. Rocco's Church, June 3, 1973.

[25] The Plain Dealer. Cleveland. August 16, 1966.

[26] These groups include the following: Noicattarese Club, Central Committee, Trentina Club, North Italian Club, Home Family Club, North Italian Women's Auxiliary, Home Family Women's Auxiliary, Holy Family Sodality, Sante Catholic Union, Holy Name Society, Parent-Teachers' Unit, Mercede Club, St. Vincent de Paul Society, Knights of St. John, HI-CLUB of St. Rocco.

[27] The Cleveland Press, March 29, 1935.

[28] Letter from Adolfo Tanno, Mayor of Ripalimosani to Vincent D'Alessandro, December 31, 1948.

[29] Interview with Vito Sanitato, Italian immigrant and President of the Noicattarese Club, July 16, 1968.

[30] L'Araldo. Cleveland, June 18, 1948.

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Costanzo, Andrew L. Personal Interview, Cleveland. June 6, 1968.

Father Michael, Pastor of St. Rocco's Church. Personal interview, Cleveland. June 3, 1973.

Sanitato, Vito. Personal interview. Cleveland. July 16, 1968.

Tortelli, James. Personal interview. Cleveland. April 30, 1973.

D'Emilia, Alfonso, former editor of L'Araldo. May, 1973.

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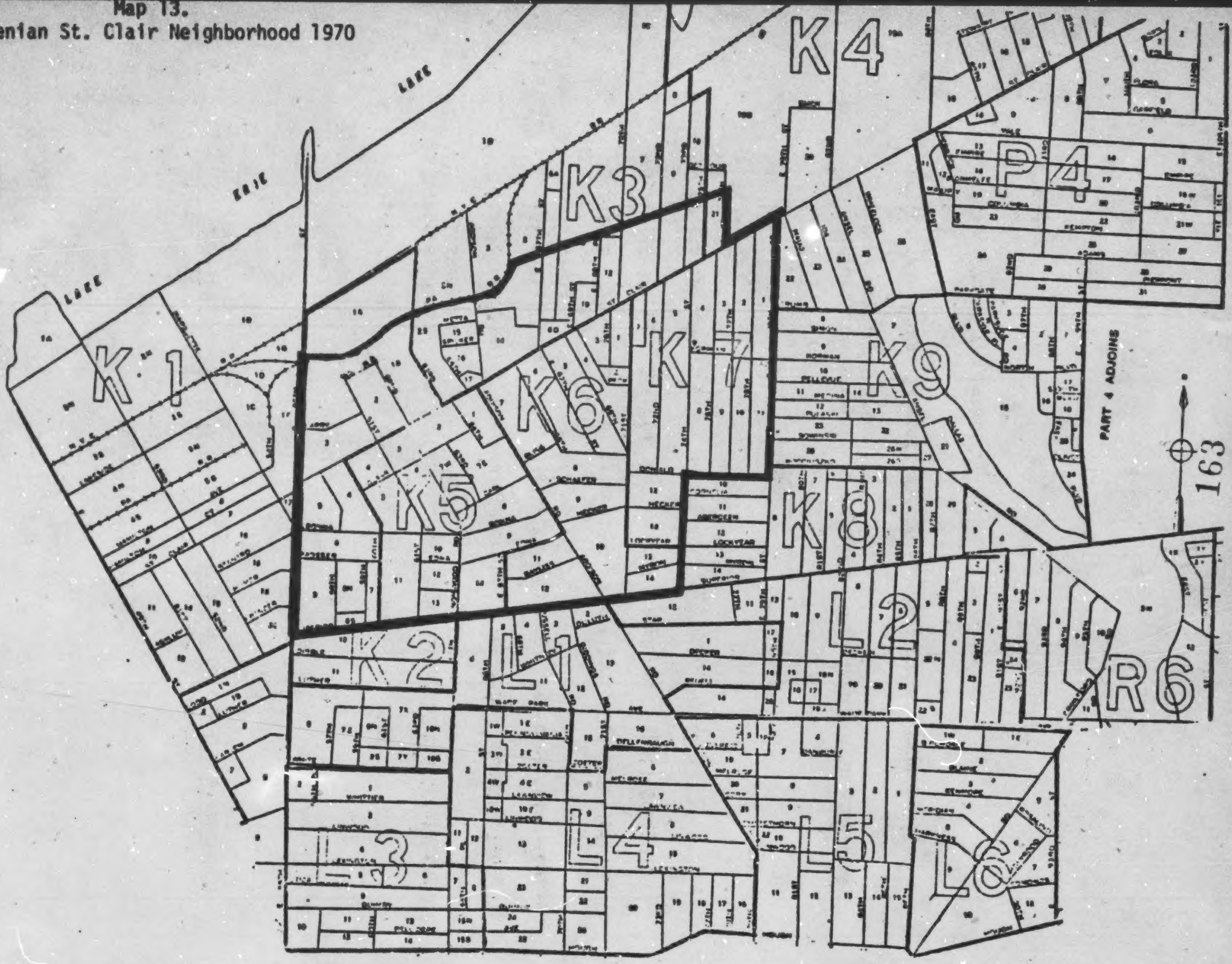
Letter from Adolfo Tanno to Vincent D'Alessandro. December 31, 1948.

U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Map 13.
Slovenian St. Clair Neighborhood 1970


LAKE ERIE
K1
K2
K3
K4
K5
K6
K7
K8
K9
L1
L2
L3
L4
L5
L6
P4
R6
PART 4 ADJOINS
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Development of the Slovenian-Croatian St. Clair Neighborhood

Most Slovenians and Croatians of the St. Clair neighborhood came to America from an area in Europe extending from the Julian Alps south along the Dalmatian coast. While this strategic region of Southern Europe is presently part of Yugoslavia, prior to 1918 it was hotly contested by Austrians, Hungarians, and Italians. That is why U.S. Census records list immigrants of the St. Clair neighborhood as Austrians, Hungarians, Italians, or Yugoslavs and not as Slovenians or Croatians.

There are many traits which Slovenians and Croatians have in common. Western oriented and Roman Catholic (although 25% of Croatians are Moslems), both use the Latin alphabet and speak similar languages allowing easy communication despite the fact that they might not be fluent in the other's tongue. This probably explains the high proportion of intermarriage occurring between the two nationality groups.

Based on estimates published by the Nationalities Services Center, there are approximately 46,000 people of Slovenian origin and 25,000 of Croatian origin living in the Cleveland area. From the beginning of their immigration, Slovenians and Croatians have lived in adjacent or common neighborhoods. While most Slovenians settled in Cleveland,[1] Croatians formed larger enclaves in other parts of the United States, including California, Pittsburgh, and Chicago.

Cleveland Settlements

On October 25, 1881, after surviving 28 days on the rough Atlantic, Jozef Turk, one of the first Slovenians to reach the American shores, arrived in Cleveland.[2] He and 48 other young compatriots who shortly followed him settled in the Czech area around Broadway and East 55th Street along St. Clair Avenue.[3]

Soon the community expanded further east. Homes were bought from earlier German settlers who lived between East 55th and East 29th Street, Superior Avenue and Lake Erie. In this area they established their first major settlement. It quickly became the hub of Slovenian life in America: the St. Clair neighborhood.

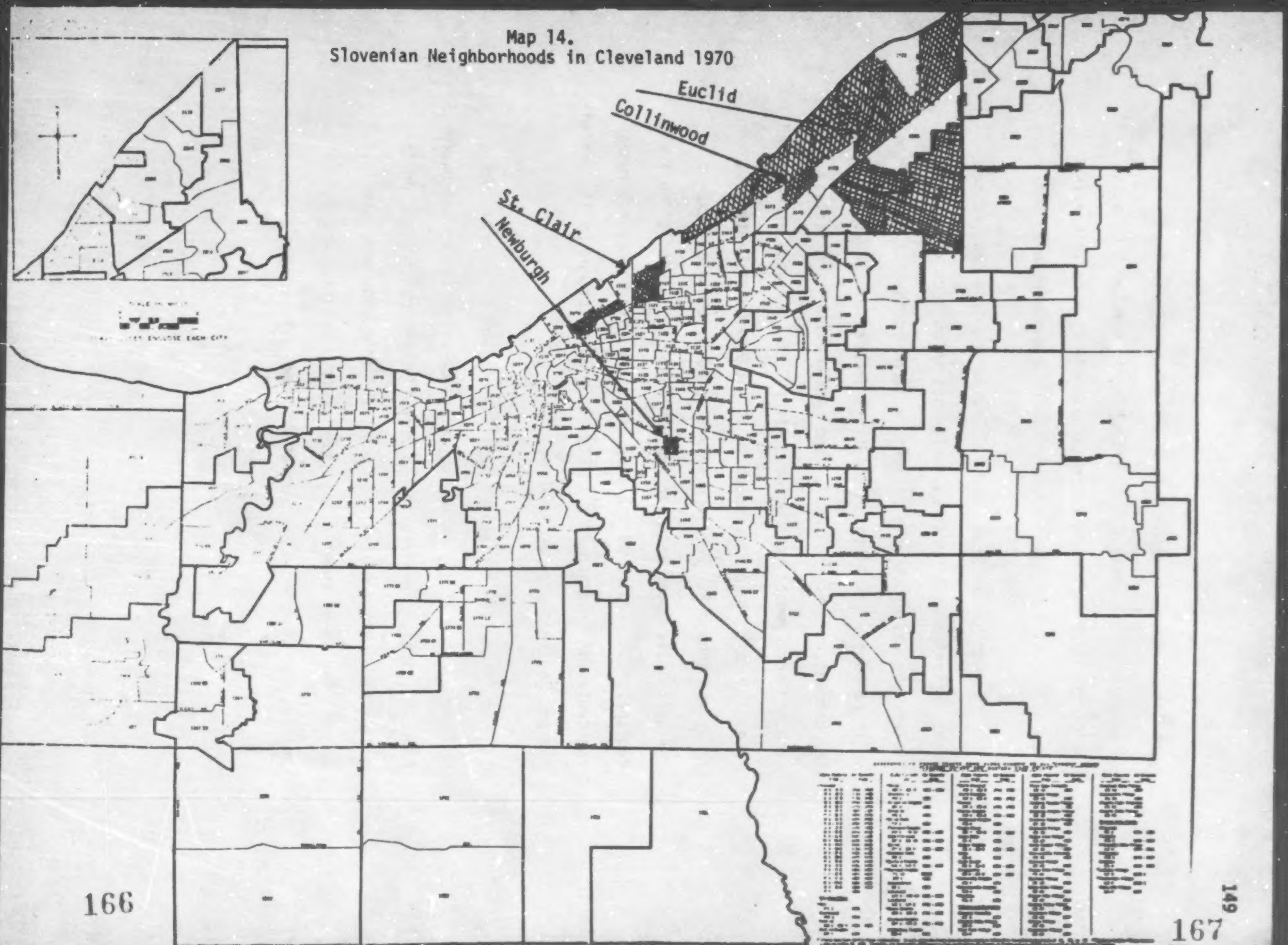
As jobs became available further eastward, in Collinwood and Euclid, they formed new enclaves in these areas. Through the years they established four major communities:

St. Clair neighborhood around St. Vitus parish;
Collinwood neighborhood around St. Mary's parish;
Newburgh neighborhood around St. Lawrence parish;
Euclid Extended community with St. Christine parish.

Smaller enclaves were also formed in Maple Heights and on the West Side of Cleveland on Lorain Avenue (see Map 14).

A few Croatians resided in Cleveland as early as 1866 but larger groups arrived only after 1890, settling in the areas previously occupied by the Slovenians between East 25th Street and East 55th Street, along St. Clair Avenue. One of the early Croatian immigrants was John Popovich. On Superior and East 36th Street, Popovich and his countrymen built St. Nicholas Croatian Greek

Map 14.
Slovenian Neighborhoods in Cleveland 1970


Euclid
Collinwood
St. Clair
Newburgh

Catholic Church (Byzantine Rite - Uniate) in 1902. A year later in 1903, St. Paul Roman Catholic Church was erected. Croatian religious, cultural, social, fraternal, and to a certain extent even political life, centered around these two parishes.

Reverend Nikola Grskovic, St. Paul's founding pastor, had great influence with Croatian immigrants throughout the United States. He was known as a polished writer, journalist editor and political activist. Through the first decades of the 20th century, the community increased in size and became one of the largest Croatian settlements in America. After 1955, however, as more and more St. Clair Slovenians moved to Euclid and other Eastern suburbs, Croatians around St. Paul's were attracted by the old inexpensive and well built homes left behind by Slovenians. This led to a slow decline of St. Paul's parish life. Nonetheless, the Church remains the center of Croatian life in Cleveland administered by its present pastor, Reverend Stephen Mrakuzic.

St. Nicholas, the second Croatian parish of the area, has a smaller congregation. Under the influence of their present pastor, Msgr. T. Firis, a new church has recently been constructed on the old site. Investing in a new church building can, undoubtedly, be regarded as an inner city ethnic group's positive evaluation of the future of Cleveland's near downtown area.

Formation of the Slovenian St. Clair Settlement

Early Slovenian St. Clair settlers were unmarried, unskilled young men. Like millions of other Europeans, they were attracted by the "land of opportunities" from inflated stories of gold discoveries and instant wealth. With the population expansion in the "old country" many family farms became too small to feed large households. When the bleak future became a reality to growing youngsters and the infant industrial establishments at home were unable to absorb surplus farm labor, America seemed to be the answer. Young Slovenians, therefore, left their homes for America, planning to return after accumulating enough money to buy a piece of property, pay debts on their land, or buy a business. Many did indeed return home, especially during periods of depression in the United States; the majority, however, stayed and settled permanently. Even those who went home often returned, disenchanted by the unsettled conditions in their home country and hypnotized by the frantic pace and feeling of accomplishment dominating American life.

In response to their dislocation, for comraderie and support, Slovenians made their settlement into a community. As for others newly arrived in the United States, life was ever demanding and the St. Clair community provided a degree of familiarity and security that allowed the immigrants a respite from their difficulties. The Slovenian St. Clair community, in time, became one of the most prosperous and stable ethnic communities in Cleveland.

By 1930, the St. Clair community, like most other independent enclaves of Cleveland, was prospering. The neighborhood offered to its settlers everything they needed. Income was secured from employment in local factories some of which were bilingual for all practical purposes. More enterprising settlers opened boarding-houses, bakeries, grocery stores, meat markets, furniture stores, small shops, real estate and notary public offices. By the 1930's and 1940's, an increasing number of the immigrants' sons became lawyers, physicians, dentists and accountants. They established radio programs, had their own writers and poets and their own political and community leaders. A downtown visit was necessary only to deal with City Hall or the Courthouse. The community's own financial institutions took care of saving and borrowing. Local carpenters, bricklayers, mechanics and other tradesmen were available for major home repairs. The Church cared for religious life, for primary education, and for various social activities.

Being great admirers of religious and folk songs, members of the community established singing societies in churches, halls, lodges, and even bars. Singing was and still is an integral part of their social life and some of the societies became semi-professional associations offering elaborate programs including operas, which still attract widespread attention. In order to house the variety of cultural activities, "national homes" were built; in fact, no Slovenian community in America is without one. Stage programs, dances, concerts and social and cultural activities still take place in these homes. The ethnic environment, however, did not impede the process of acculturation rather, it helped the new immigrant to adapt gradually to the American way of life without throwing him into a "sink or swim" situation. At the same time it helped him to preserve his own heritage and traditional values.

With higher standards of living and the lure of newer homes and larger lots in Euclid and other eastern suburbs and counties, a gradual out-migration from the St. Clair community started to take place. As older residents moved out in the 1950's, post World War II political refugees arrived by the hundreds from Slovenia to settle in the neighborhood and to rejuvenate it with new blood and new experiences. The expansion of the Black community during the 1960's gradually encircled the settlement so that it now constitutes a white ethnic island (see Maps 15-18). This development had a negative effect on the St. Clair community. Their main concern was fear of crime and the decline in property values, particularly in the border area around Superior Avenue and East 79th Street. Uncertainty about the future of the community made many leave the area. Yet, the majority stayed and, spurred on by the interest of new Croatian settlers, a new vitality is evident seldom found in old neighborhoods.

During the last ten years, Croatian emigration to the United States has been considerable. The average number of immigrants from Yugoslavia is about 6,000 a year. About 60% of these are Croatians and quite a few have been attracted to the Cleveland St. Clair neighborhood. Most of these immigrants are young and skilled in various trades and professions and quite a few have good academic credentials.

Even though active in their own organizations, St. Clair Croatians are increasingly integrating with the Slovenian community patronizing Slovenian businesses, attending St. Vitus church services, and sending their youngsters to St. Vitus School, which even holds special courses for Croatian youngsters.

The Parish Life

For the majority of Slovenian immigrants the church expresses the deepest feelings and values embedded in the Slovenian culture. Not having a priest or a church of their own, the first immigrants were "adopted" by the famous Slovak pastor, Father Furdek; they joined Slovak organizations and fraternal societies. Through the efforts of Father Furdek, the Catholic diocese arranged for Reverend Vitus Hribar, a young Slovenian priest, to come to Cleveland. A Slovenian parish, St. Vitus, was quickly organized in 1893 with temporary quarters at St. Peter's Church on East 17th Street and Superior Avenue. Church records show that "sixty-five families and one thousand single men" were served originally by this Slovenian parish.[4]

In the meantime, money was collected for the purchase of land on the northwest corner of Glass Avenue and Norwood Road. Despite their meager income, these immigrants were able to raise $6,000 in one year; a sum sufficient to buy a large tract of land and build a temporary church on East 62nd Street and Glass Avenue. They subsequently added a school building.

When in 1907, Reverend Bartholomew Ponikvar took over the parish, he immediately made plans for a larger school and church. The former was completed by 1912 and the latter in 1932. St. Vitus is the largest Slovenian church in America. Only a settlement as deeply religious as this one could have financed such monumental projects at a time when almost 30% of the Slovenian St. Clair population was unemployed.[5]

After forty-five years of pastoral work, Msgr. Ponikvar died in 1952 and was succeeded by Reverend Louis Baznik, who had been born and raised in the same Slovenian neighborhood. Under his guidance, the parish reached a new peak of activity, both as a center for religious as well as social life. Msgr. Baznik remodeled the church, built a large gymnasium-auditorium, a convent for teaching nuns, restructured many church organizations and established new ones. With his two assistants, he supervised over forty church organizations. During the 1950's and 1960's, all the available space in the school, gymnasium, and large rectory was continuously in use. Reservations for activities had to be made over six months in advance. There were more people in the church during week days than in other parishes on Sundays. Presently St. Vitus parish lists a membership of approximately 1,000 families. Some of these, however, are living in suburban areas and come to church on Sundays.

In addition to St. Vitus, a new congregation was established a few years ago by a smaller group of Croatian, Slovenian, and Serbian immigrants. On Addison Road, they bought a tract of land and built a small Seventh Day Adventists Church.

Schools

There are two parochial and two public schools in the St. Clair neighborhood. However, very few youngsters of Slovenian parents attend public schools.

Even though St. Vitus Elementary school, offering grades 1 to 8, discontinued the Slovenian language programs in the 1940's, the school is still considered an important socializing agent by Slovenian parents, perpetuating the most important cultural values while fulfilling the broader objectives of the American educational system. Youngsters attending its classes develop the cohesive base necessary for the perpetuation of the neighborhood.

Enrollments have been declining from a maximum of 1,700 in 1920 to 596 in 1973. This has been attributed partly to a lower birth rate and partly to increasing costs. The school, however, remains a strong educational force and receives the full support of the Slovenian community. The school is staffed by Notre Dame Sisters and lay teachers.

St. Vitus School Enrollments

1910	470
1920	1,700*
1930	1,245*
1940	603
1950	394
1960	792
1965	704
1970	723
1973	596

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*In the 1920's and 1930's, the school was operating on two shifts and was using the old and new school building.

Since 1952, the school premises have also been used by the Slovenian Saturday School. The Pastor and a board of parents directly supervise the program which is staffed by professional Slovenian teachers. During the past twenty years, enrollments remained rather steady between 150 and 170 pupils per year. Students are divided into nine classes. In addition to learning the Slovenian language and culture, they also produce stage programs and organize other social activities.

The two public schools are the Hodge School, located at 1075 East 74th Street and East Madison School at 1130 Addison Road.

In 1973, the Hodge School had 188 Black children and 432 white students while East Madison had 260 Black and 194 white students with 70 Junior High school girls in mentally retarded classes bussed here to satisfy Title I requirements.

Neither of the schools is supported by the neighborhood population. The Hough riots of 1965 have touched the community deeply and many parents have established "sunset curfew" for their children. Since most of the public school youngsters, especially Black pupils, come from outside the neighborhood, fist fights between the latter and parish school pupils necessitated a change in lunch and dismissal hours.

Publications

At present, there are ten Slovenian newspapers in the United States. Of these four are published in the St. Clair community. One is a daily, one a weekly, and two are semi-monthly. Following is a list of some of the more important publications.

Ameriška Domovina (American Home). This daily paper is printed in Slovenian and covers local, national, and international events. It has been published since 1897 in the St. Clair community and its current circulation is 4,000. On Fridays, an English section is included.[6-7]

Amerikanski Slovenec (American Slovene). Also published in the neighborhood, this weekly dates back to 1891. It is the official paper of the American Slovenian Catholic Union (K.S.K.J.) and reports on the Union's activities in English and Slovenian. Present editor is Ernest Racic; circulation 16,000.[8-9]

Glas SDZ (Our Voice). This is a Slovenian semi-monthly fraternal paper of the American Mutual Life Association; it was first published in 1937. Present circulation is 7,500.[10-11]

New Era (Nova Doba). A semi-monthly fraternal paper of the American Fraternal Union (Ameriska Bratska Zveza), first published in 1925. It is printed in Slovenian and English and has a circulation of 9,000.[12-13]

Enakopravnost. This is another Slovenian daily printed in the St. Clair community. It was first published in 1918. In 1957, the paper was bought by the Slovenian daily in Chicago, Prosveta.[14]

There were many other papers published in the Cleveland Slovenian community for various lengths of time:

Moskito. A humorous monthly first published in 1902.

Zvonček. A monthly newsletter published by the St. Lawrence Slovenian parish.

Danica. The parish newsletter of St. Vitus since 1907, edited by Francis Kerze.

Sloga. Published by the Zveza Katoliskih Slovencev (Catholic Slovenian Union) from 1915-1919.

Oglasnik. An advertising paper of St. Clair merchants, published in 1916; 10,000 copies were distributed.

The Cleveland Journal. A monthly for Slovenian youth; it was published between 1928 and 1932.

Iskra. A communist newsletter which appeared irregularly between 1934 and 1936.

Naprej. Another communist newsletter first published in Pittsburgh in 1935. It was moved to Cleveland in 1940 and stopped appearing in 1941.

Cankarjev Glasnik. A monthly published between 1937 and 1943. It contained literary and historical materials.

Radio Programs

The oldest Slovenian radio program in America was begun through the efforts of Heinie Martin Antoncic in 1938 on WDOK. Heinie Martin Antoncic retired in 1973 and his sister, Mrs. Antoinette McGrath, has taken over the weekly Sunday morning broadcast.

Currently the largest Slovenian broadcast in America is the "Slovenska Postaja" (Slovenian Radio Hour), a daily one hour program in the evenings and at 11:00 a.m. on Sundays on WXEN-FM. It was begun in 1961 by Radoslav Menart and is currently run by Mr. and Mrs. Milan Pavlovcic. It deals with local news concerning Slovenians in addition to giving news on Slovenians in Yugoslavia and elsewhere. A considerable portion of the program is taken up by various genre of Slovenian music.

The third major radio broadcast is done by Tony Petkovsek, Jr. daily except Sundays. He began broadcasting on WXEN-FM in 1961. Although Tony's Polka Party is aimed at polka lovers of many nationalities, there is an emphasis on Slovenians. (Frank Yankovich, the "polka king" is a Clevelander of Slovenian extraction.)

In 1972, Mario Kaucic began broadcasting for WZAK-FM and has managed to turn his broadcast into a daily, using both the Slovenian and English language and featuring Slovenian music and announcements.

Social Activities

The focus of social and cultural activities in the Slovenian community is the Slovenian National Home on St. Clair. It occupies three-quarters of a city block (with two of the buildings of the Peter Diemer estate still standing). Activity started in 1903 to collect money to buy this property. The idea lay dormant until 1910, when new discussions were initiated by 35 lodges. Again in 1915, there were meetings regarding the creation of such a facility with about 42 lodges participating. Not until March 1916, however, was a conference held to elect a board of directors and to pledge money. The first board of directors consisted of Dr. Frank Kern, Joze Kalan, Mihael Setnikar, Ignac Smuk, Zofka Birk, Frances

178

Lausche, Anton Kolar, Rudolph Perdan, Louis Pirc, Frank Hudovernik, Primoz Kogoj, Frank Cerne, Matt Petrovich, Joze Zele and Frank Jaksic. Thirty lodges became members and over $7,000 in pledges were made. By the end of 1916, the treasury had $10,000 and over $16,000 pledged. The property was bought in 1916 for $45,000. In 1922, construction was started on a huge complex which covered the front part of the block facing St. Clair Avenue. By the time construction was completed in 1924, the building complex cost approximately $326,000.[16] Approximately 35 to 40 organizations are located in these buildings. Dr. Kern, the first president, stated in the yearly report of 1916-1917 that this building would be a center for fraternal and cultural groups, a place where the Slovenian youth can have their plays, dances and clubs, and a center which would be a memorial by which future generations could remember their heritage.[17] The Slovenian National Home has undergone a "facelift" in preparation for the fifty year anniversary celebration in March, 1974.

The Slovenian neighborhood has been served by the St. Clair Recreational Center since 1919. This facility was originally known as the "Bath House." During World War I, 3,200 petitions were gathered by neighborhood members in order to ask the Cleveland City Council to provide them with a facility for bathing.[18] This is one of the first efforts by the people to use their numbers for political purposes. Later, this facility was expanded to include a pool and a gymnasium. The area behind the recreation center, facing Glass Avenue, is presently being developed as an outdoor recreational area. Three playgrounds were built in this community. Two of them are part of the two public elementary schools. The third is located on a section of the community (north of St. Clair and east of East 55th Street) which was devastated by the East Ohio Gas Explosion in 1944 killing 130 people and making 2,000 homeless. The Slovenian community leaders organized a private corporation to rebuild the one half square mile area which was demolished. Private money made it possible to completely rebuild this area and new homes were erected once the area was cleared. The playground was named after its greatest community leader, Anton Grdina.

In addition, St. Vitus Parish has a school playground and a gymnasium which is used for indoor recreational purposes.

Baragov Dom, at 6304 St. Clair Avenue, was bought in 1953. It serves as a meeting place for community groups, conferences, and special cultural programs of post-World War II immigrants.[19]

Fraternal Organizations

The first death of a Slovenian in 1884 forced the immigrants to consider the expense of proper burial. Joseph Turk pursuaded some of the other men to form a branch of a Czech burial benefit society, Marijin Spolek.[20] Many of this society's members later joined the American Slovenian Catholic Union (K.S.K.J.) which was organized on April 2, 1894. Even though its headquarters have always been located in Joliet, Illinois, Clevelanders have had an enormous influence on the organization. In 1974, the Supreme

President, Joseph Nemanich, the Supreme Treasurer, Tone Mravle, and the Supreme Spiritual Director, Monsignor Louis Baznik come from the St. Clair Slovenian Community. Historically, a few of the more prominent people from Cleveland who held office were Anton Grdina (Supreme President), John Pastirc (Supreme Treasurer), Monsignor Oman (Supreme Spiritual Director), and Joe Kovac (Finance Committee).

The Slovenska Dobrodelna Zveza (American Mutual Life Association), was organized on November 3, 1910. This is the only Slovenian fraternal society chartered by the State of Ohio. The main office of the A.M.L.A. is on St. Clair Avenue. Its fraternal semi-monthly paper, Glas SDZ, is printed in this neighborhood. The present Supreme President is John Susnik, owner of Norwood Appliance, a large business establishment in the heart of the Slovenian community.[21]

Among other fraternal organizations with large memberships in the St. Clair community are the Ameriska Bratska Zveza (American Fraternal Union), and Slovenska Narodna Podporna Jeanota (S.N.P.J.), a fraternal lodge with headquarters in Chicago.

Political Activities

Politically, the St. Clair community has been served by one of its Slovenian members since 1926. John Mihelic, the first Slovenian councilman in the city, served Ward 23 from 1926 to 1931. He was succeeded by Julius Grosman who served from 1932 to 1933, William Kenick from 1934 to 1935, John Novak from 1936 to 1939, and Edward Kovacic from 1940 to 1953. Kovacic's brother, John served from 1953 to 1961. Edmund Turk, the present chairman of the Public Utilities Commission of Ohio was its councilman from 1961 to 1973. The present councilman is Robert Novak.

The most prominent politician to arise from this community was Senator Frank Lausche. His roots in the community grew simultaneously with the growth of the community. Frank Lausche practiced law in Cleveland from 1920 to 1932, served as judge of the Municipal Court and subsequently of the Common Pleas Court from 1932 to 1941 when he was elected Mayor of Cleveland. He used the Mayor's powers to the utmost in order to mobilize Cleveland for the war effort. He served as Governor of Ohio from 1945 to 1947 and was defeated in his second bid for the governor's seat. He regained the position of Governor in 1949 and won twice more, serving until 1957. He was a United States Senator from Ohio from 1957 to 1968.

However, the leading St. Clair neighborhood community leader for over fifty years, was Mr. Anton Grdina, a prominent Cleveland businessman, who unselfishly devoted time and money not only for the betterment of the St. Clair neighborhood but for all Slovenian communities of Cleveland.

Over the last fifty years, other Slovenians have answered the call to public service in various capacities and in many different locations in northeastern Ohio. Judge August Pryatel has been on the bench since 1957.

Frank Krainz, Mayor of Highland Heights, and John Yanesh, Mayor of Wickliffe, were both born on St. Clair and are of Slovenian descent.

Slovenians have been able to dominate the 23rd Democratic Ward Club for almost 50 years. They are considered a significant political group who contributed many illustrious personalities to Cleveland public life.

The Business Community

St. Clair Slovenians initiated two major financial institutions. On December 8, 1916, the Slovenian Building and Loan Association was incorporated by the State of Ohio. Its founders were Paul Schneller, President, Frank Cerne, Joseph Kalan, Anton Grdina, John Zulich, Anton Kausek, and August Kausek. In 1937, the name was changed to St. Clair Savings Association.[22] As the original name implies, the purpose of the institution was to give Slovenes an opportunity to obtain loans for buying and building homes. The company has been expanding continuously and now has four branches in the eastern part of Cleveland.

In the winter of 1919-1920, the North American Banking and Savings Company was organized. The Slovenians knew it as "Slovenska - Trgovska - Prometna Banka." It opened for business on April 23, 1920. In time, branches were built in Collinwood and Newburgh, both Slovenian neighborhoods. In 1959, it merged with the Central National Bank of Cleveland. The organizers of the bank were Anton Grdina, its long-time president, Dr. James M. Seliskar, John Grdina, Jernej Knaus, August Hafnar, Matt Grdina, Frank Suhadolnik, Frank Jaksic, Jacob Jancar, and John Gornik. Major bank services included handling of mortgage loans for neighborhood residents, financing business establishments and national homes, transfer of money to the Old Country by people from the community. Since its inception, the bank was a success. One hundred twenty-five thousand dollars worth of shares were sold without difficulty. Over 8,000 accounts were opened at the start of its long service to the Slovenian community.[23]

The Slovenian community is presently served by 412 business and industrial concerns:[24]

Type of Business	Number of Establishments
Industrial	24
Commercial	58
Retail (small business)	228
Bars, cafes, taverns, lounges	57
Gas stations	20
Professional Services (physicians, lawyers, etc.)	18
Financial institutions	7
TOTAL	412

There are no personal loan companies in the neighborhood and even St. Vitus Church does not have a credit union. Slovenians and Croatians, like most immigrants, are thrifty and are used to paying cash.

Neighborhood financial institutions have large savings accounts well above the average for similar communities. Being thrifty, they usually bought homes a few years after settling in Cleveland. Family, work, and church with local social activities seems to be the main thrust of their lives. A stable community with strong and simple convictions - no wonder the St. Clair area has had the lowest delinquency rates in Cleveland for years, a rare phenomenon in a world of changes and unsettled problems.

Demographic Data

As shown by Tables 1 and 2, census tract data indicates that from 1900 on, the Slovenian community has moved up St. Clair Avenue. The census tracts which were first occupied by Slovenians (G-4 and G-5) were slowly taken over by industrial and commercial establishments decreasing the total population from 2949 in 1910 to 11 persons by 1970.

The peak of the Slovenian St. Clair community was reached in the 1930's when over 28,000 Slovenians were living between East 40th Street and East 79th Street, Superior and Wade Park Avenue and Lakeshore. (Estimates were given by Mr. Jack Strekal, a Slovenian realtor and the late Anton Grdina.)

Because of the 1927 Quota Act, the Depression and World War II, the Slovenian population on St. Clair started to decrease during the 1940's. However, in the 1950's, as shown by census tracts, there was a sharp increase in foreign-born Slovenians who came to

Table 1. Slovenian Croatian St. Clair Neighborhood
Population Statistics - totals

	1910			1920			1930			1940			1950			1960a			1970a		
	I.	II.	III.	I.	II.	III.	I.	II.	III.	I.	II.	III.	I.	II.	III.	I.	II.	III.	I.	II.	III.
G-4	2949	1801	10	2067	43	131	608	27	111	305	13	55	157	0	69	22	na	13	11	na	9
G-5	5294	3074	2	4400	670	96	3053	513	174	2315	225	55	1689	0	112	1216	228	123	753	141	33
H-1	2056	1259	0	1267	317	41	382	86	11	333	64	7	316	21	12	176	32	4	60	na	6
H-2	4258	2284	0	3884	1030	1	2874	742	3	2541	460	0	2188	290	2	1722	453	0	1051	331	0
H-3	4253	1367	3	4996	138	0	4318	426	0	3850	344	3	3673	206	46	2746	623	77	2023	382	40
H-4	5413	2034	1	5164	253	7	4598	584	3	4089	403	3	3823	208	152	3223	606	156	2656	263	4
H-5	1511	2331	4	1406	11	11	1166	80	7	878	64	2	907	26	0	586	106	19	204	7	2
H-6	2957	na	8	3566	29	21	2648	95	42	2780	119	10	2561	76	102	na	na	na	774	56	131
K-1	3494	2939	1	3904	839	19	2698	430	15	2413	201	1	1925	241	0	1474	337	0	1144	216	0
K-2	4441	3779	2	5147	1218	26	4225	938	6	3921	650	2	3247	336	4	2819	587	212	2422	544	893
K-3	4401	2633	1	5178	1030	11	3216	659	31	2990	505	2	2183	256	54	1796	390	0	1736	237	516
K-4	2809	727	3	6695	29	3	6992	70	4	6550	104	3	6302	123	33	6673	375	4474	5604	249	4053
K-5	4443	2016	4	5268	1752	1	4366	1371	0	2916	997	0	3753	694	0	3225	950	0	2797	1095	38
K-6	4050	1420	5	5216	642	1	4709	916	28	4105	812	0	3790	566	2	3362	868	0	2804	1109	33
K-7	4690	2470*	0	5890	168	0	5593	584	0	5574	581	3	4824	387	1	4484	979	1	3622	879	27
K-8	3746		7	4487	7	3	4498	122	17	4399	131	13	4042	na	8	3690	855	176	4044	279	2261
L-1	5064	1233	5	5913	20	21	5742	97	3	5712	66	5	5612	72	28	6298	503	3610	4429	117	3737
L-2	5136	949	11	4935	4	11	6040	28	8	6073	18	3	5065	23	7	6977	229	5618	4822	5	4613
L-3	3528	602	23	5304	2	5	4602	49	7	5542	50	6	5194	12	316	5703	104	4778	3183	28	3100
L-4	5468	1207	11	7840	24	78	8365	32	122	9359	63	140	9157	37	369	11785	163	10755	6102	6	6058

I. Total population
II. Foreign born white population by birth in Yugoslavia
III. Black population surrounding and part of census tract
a. Statistics are unavailable on foreign born - Yugoslavia. Figures for foreign born in these census tracts are the closest available data.
* figure includes both K7 and K8
na not available

Table 2. Slovenian-Croatian St. Clair Neighborhood Population Statistics in Percentages.

	1910*		1920		1930		1940		1950		1960		1970	
	I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.
G-4	61.17		2.08	6.33	4.44	38.67	4.26	18.03	0	43.94	0	59.09	0	81.80
G-5	58.06		15.22	4.38	16.80	5.69	9.71	2.37		6.63	18.75	.98	18.72	4.40
H-1	98.97		25.01	3.23	22.50	2.87	19.21	2.10	6.64	3.79	18.18	2.27	0	4.30
H-2	58.80		26.51	.02	25.81	.10	18.10	0	13.25	.09	26.30	0	31.49	0
H-3	27.36		2.767	0	12.18	0	9.03	.07	3.60	1.25	22.53	2.78	18.88	2.10
H-4	39.38		4.89	.13	12.84	.06	9.85	.07	5.44	3.97	18.80	4.84	9.90	.20
H-5			.78	1.36	6.86	1.05	7.28	.22	2.86	0	18.08	3.24	3.43	.70
H-6			.81	.28	3.58	1.58	4.44	.37	2.96	0	0	0	7.23	14 10
K-1	84.41		21.47	.48	15.93	.55	12.47	.04	12.51	0	22.86	0	18.88	0
K-2	85.09		23.66	.50	22.46	.02	29.80	.05	10.34	.12	20.82	9.64	22.46	31.6
K-3	57.46		19.89	.21	20.49	.96	16.95	.06	11.72	2.47	21.71	0	13.49	17.10
K-4	27.66		.43	.04	1.00	.10	1.58	.04	.20	.52	5.66	67.01	4.44	73.60
K-5	[illegible]		33.44	.01	31.40	0	25.45	0	18.49	0	29.45	0	39.49	1.40
K-6	35.06		12.31	.01	8.83	.80	19.78	0	14.93	.05	25.63	0	39.55	1.20
K-7	29.27**		2.80	0	10.44	0	10.42	.05	8.20	.02	21.83	.02	24.26	.70
K-8			.15	.06	2.71	.37	2.97	.29		.19	33.17	4.76	6.89	55.90
L-1	24.34		.33	.35	.81	.05	1.15	.08	1.28	.49		57.31	3.70	85.10
L-2	18.47		.06	.18	.46	.13	.29	.04	.45	.13	7.98	80.52	.11	91.90
L-3	17.06		.03	.09	1.06	.15	.90	.10	.23	6.08	3.28	83.78	.87	97.40
L-4	22.07		.30	.99	.38	1.45	.67	1.49	.40	4.02	1.82	91.26	.09	98.70

I. Percent foreign born
II. Percent non-white
* Insignificant percentage of non-white
** includes K7, K8

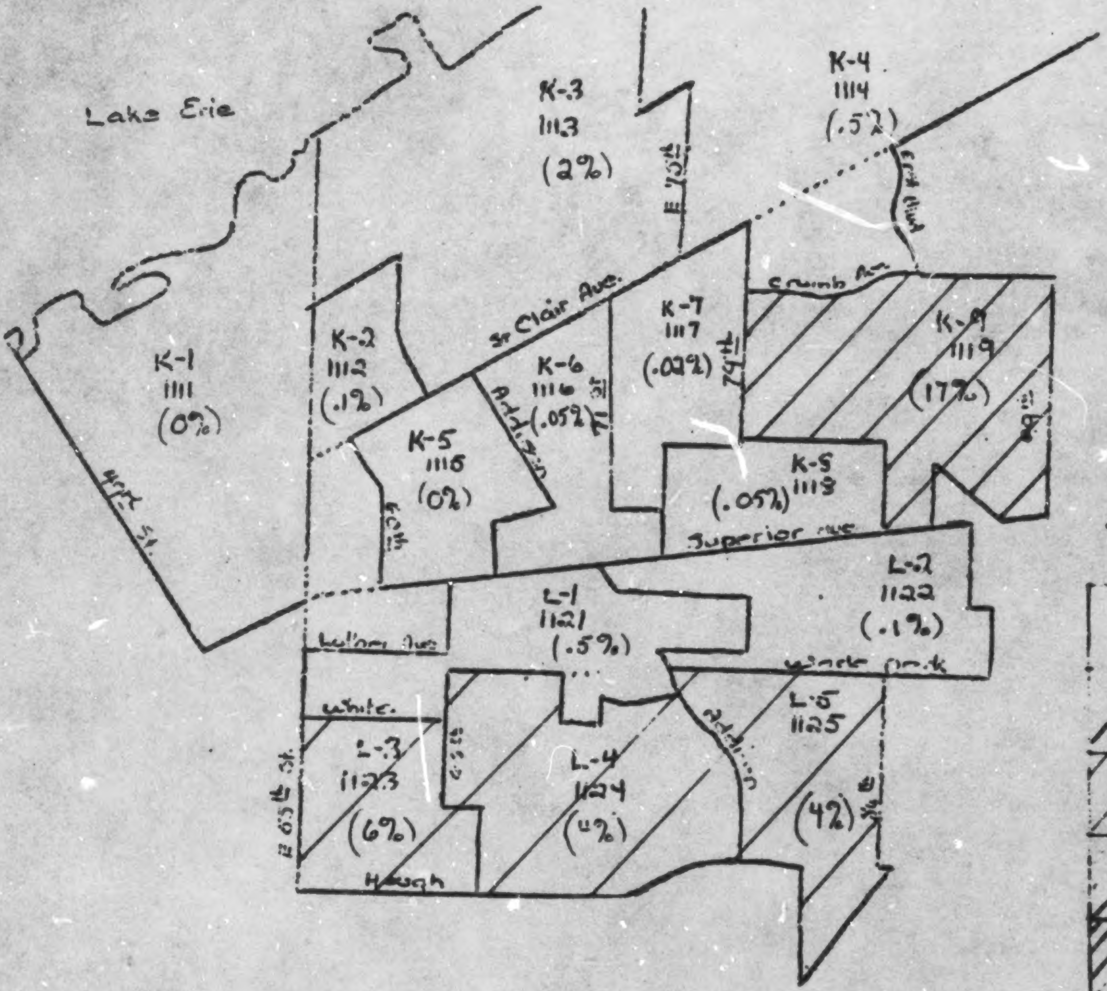
American as political refugees under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948. By the 1950's there were over 20,000 persons of Slovenian background living in the St. Clair neighborhood.

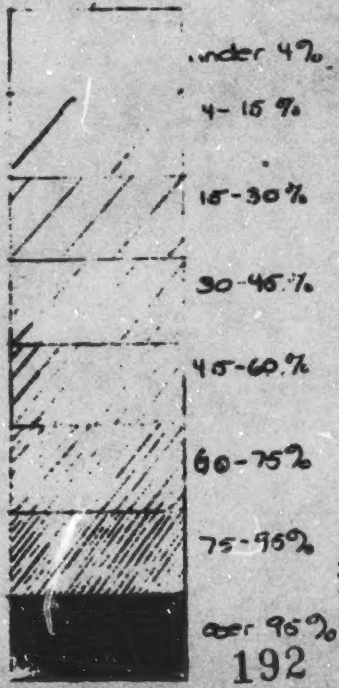
The 1970 U.S. Census shows sharp decreases in foreign born except in four tracts, K-2, 5, 6, 7, which form the heart of the present day St. Clair community. The increase in foreign born reflects the influx of Croatian immigrants who settled in this area after 1960. In fact, K-6 census tracts shows the highest concentration of foreign born in the City of Cleveland (76.6%).

There was an insignificant number of Blacks in the St. Clair neighborhood until the census of 1950. Between 1950 and 1968, tremendous gains were made by the Black population in the southern and eastern census tracts of the Slovenian community. In 1950, L-2 census tract had a total population of 5,065 people of which seven were Black. By 1960, the total population increased to 6,977 with 98.7% Black. As shown by maps 15, 16, 17, and 18, within a ten-year period, census tracts L-3 and L-4 with 4,000 people or more changed from all white to all Black. By 1970, the same tracts show decreases in total population of over 50%. Such huge population shifts over a short period of time are bound to create serious problems, high crime rates, insecurity and social tension, not necessarily because of racial differences but because of radical changes in population composition followed by a sharp increase in housing deterioration and finally a drop in population next to communities with relative stability.

Percent Black

K-1	0%
K-2	.1%
K-3	2%
K-4	.5%
K-5	0%
K-6	.05%
K-7	.02%
K-8	.05%
K-9	17%
L-1	.5%
L-2	.1%
L-3	6%
L-4	4%
L-5	4%

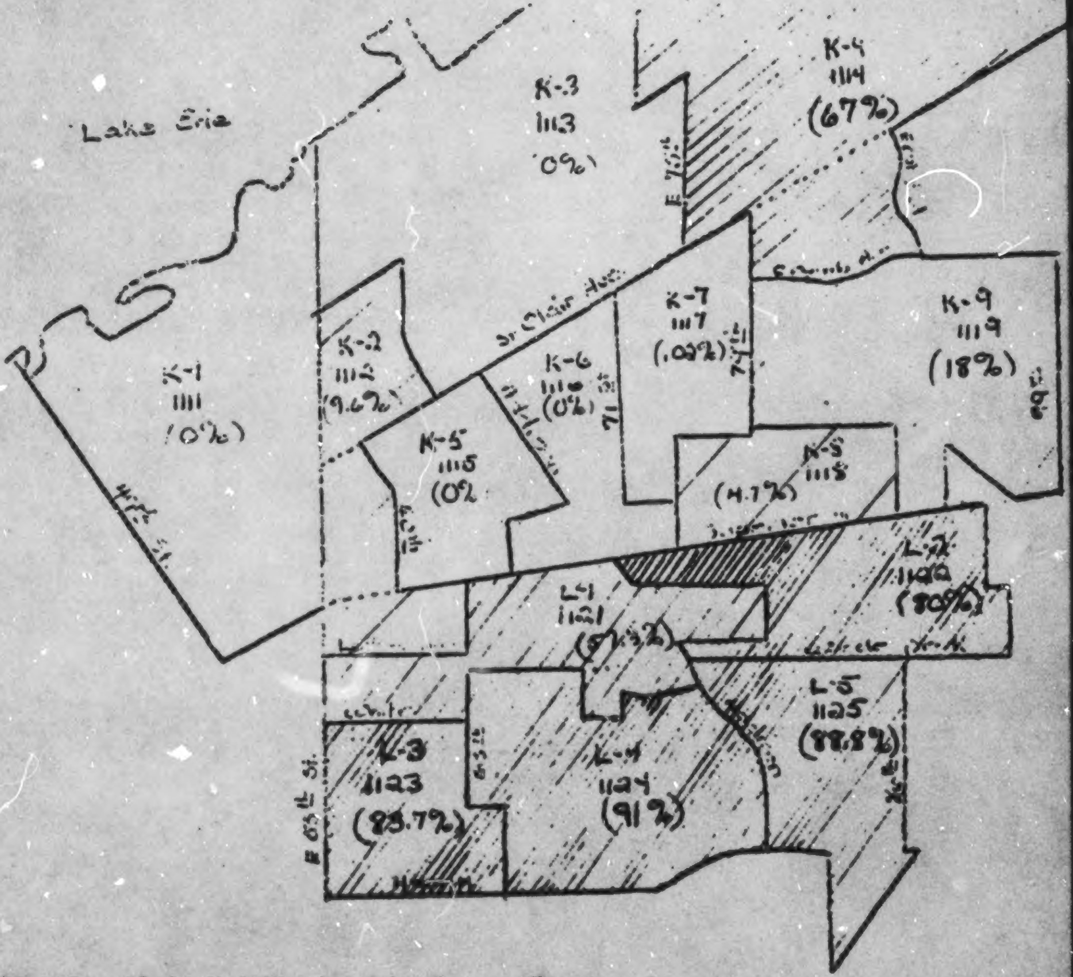

Lake Erie
K-1
1111
(0%)
K-2
1112
(.1%)
K-3
1113
(2%)
K-4
1114
(.5%)
K-5
1115
(0%)
K-6
1116
(.05%)
K-7
1117
(.02%)
K-8
1118
(.05%)
K-9
1119
(17%)
L-1
1121
(.5%)
L-2
1122
(.1%)
L-3
1123
(6%)
L-4
1124
(4%)
L-5
1125
(4%)
St Clair Ave.
Superior Ave.
Hough
White.
Wade Park
Addison
E 75th
E 65th St.
E 79th
E 55th
E 71 St
Crumb Ave.
Eddy Blvd
West 51
Lake St.


under 4%
4-15%
15-30%
30-45%
45-60%
60-75%
75-95%
over 95%

Map 15. St. Clair Neighborhood by Census Tract and Black Population, 1950.

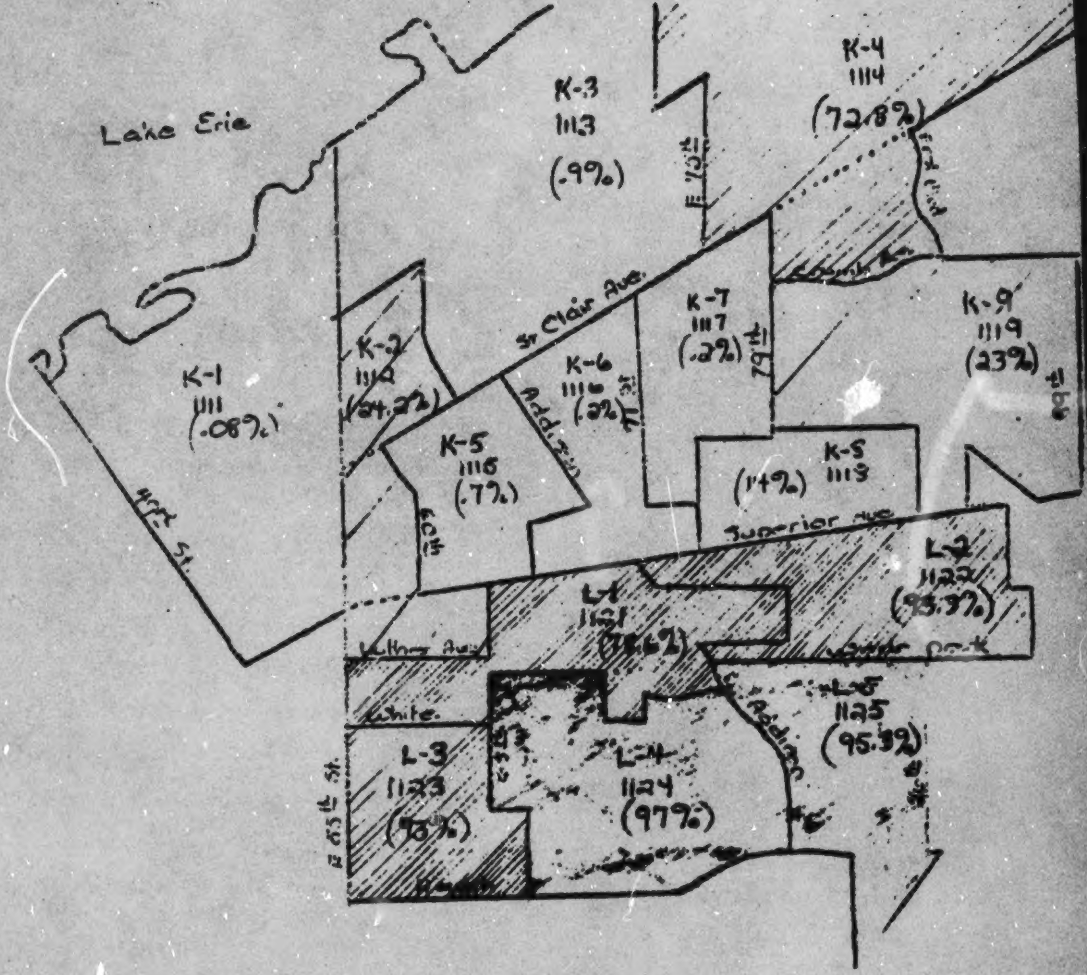
Percent Black

K-1	0%
K-2	9.6%
K-3	0%
K-4	67%
K-5	0%
K-6	0%
K-7	.02%
K-8	4.7%
K-9	18%
L-1	57.3%
L-2	80%
L-3	83.7%
L-4	91%
L-5	88.8%


Lake Erie
K-1
1111
(0%)
K-2
1112
(9.6%)
K-3
1113
(0%)
K-4
1114
(67%)
K-5
1115
(0%)
K-6
1116
(0%)
K-7
1117
(.02%)
K-8
1118
(4.7%)
K-9
1119
(18%)
L-1
1121
(57.3%)
L-2
1122
(80%)
L-3
1123
(83.7%)
L-4
1124
(91%)
L-5
1125
(88.8%)
St. Clair Ave.
E 63rd St.

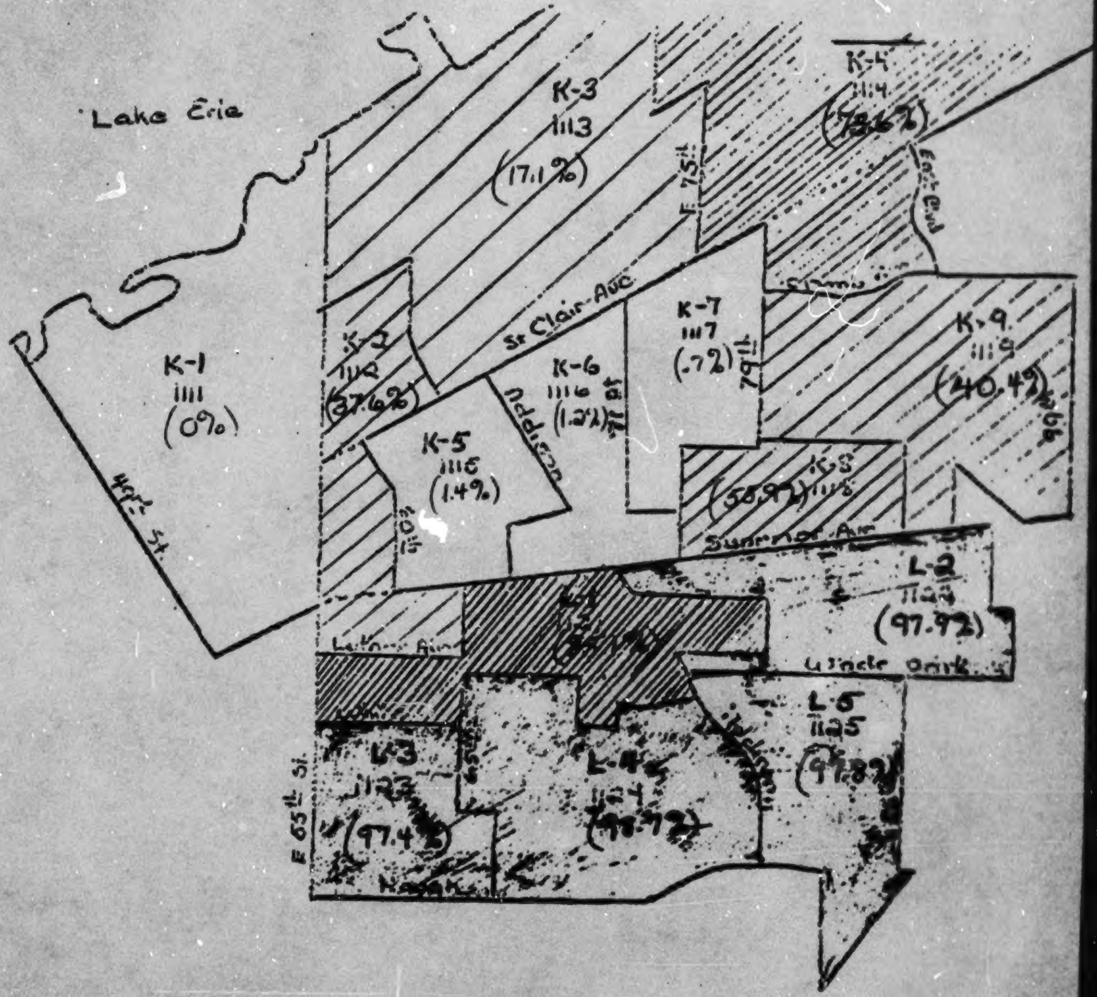
Map 16. St. Clair Neighborhood by Census Tract and Black Population, 1960.

Percent Black	
K-1	05%
K-2	24.2%
K-3	.9%
K-4	72.8%
K-5	.7%
K-6	.2%
K-7	.2%
K-8	14%
K-9	23%
L-1	78.6%
L-2	99.3%
-3	93%
-4	97%
-5	95.3%


Lake Erie
K-1
1111
(.08%)
K-2
1112
(24.2%)
K-3
1113
(.9%)
K-4
1114
(72.8%)
K-5
1115
(.7%)
K-6
1116
(.2%)
K-7
1117
(.2%)
K-8
1118
(14%)
K-9
1119
(23%)
L-1
1121
(78.6%)
L-2
1122
(93.3%)
L-3
1123
(93%)
L-4
1124
(97%)
L-5
1125
(95.3%)
St Clair Ave.
Superior Ave.
Addison
E 79th
79th
E 55th St.
40th St.
71 St.
White.
Wade Park

Map 17. St. Clair Neighborhood by Census Tract and Black Population, 1965.

Census tract	Percent Black
K-1 (1111)	0
K-2 (1112)	37.6
K-3 (1113)	17.1
K-4 (1114)	73.6
K-5 (1115)	1.4
K-6 (1116)	1.2
K-7 (1117)	.7
K-8 (1118)	55.9
K-9 (1119)	40.4
L-1 (1121)	85.1
L-2 (1122)	97.9
L-3 (1123)	97.4
L-4 (1124)	98.7
L-5 (1125)	97.8


Lake Erie
K-1
1111
(0%)
K-2
1112
(37.6%)
K-3
1113
(17.1%)
K-4
1114
(73.6%)
K-5
1115
(1.4%)
K-6
1116
(1.2%)
K-7
1117
(.7%)
K-8
1118
(55.9%)
K-9
1119
(40.4%)
L-2
1122
(97.9%)
L-3
1123
(97.4%)
L-4
1124
(98.7%)
L-5
1125
(97.8%)
St Clair Ave
E 75th
79th
71st
Addison
E 55th St.
E 65th St.
East Blvd
Superior Ave
Wade Park

Map 18. St. Clair Neighborhood by Census Tract and Black Population, 1970.

FOOTNOTES

[1] In 1940, Cleveland was the second largest Slovene city in the world, surpassed only by Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia. William Gamson Rose, Cleveland, The Making of a City (Cleveland, 1950).

[2] Frank Cesen, Odlomek iz Zgodovine, St. Clair Avenue, (Ljubljana, 1969), p. 1.

[3] Frank Turk, Slovenski Pionir (Cleveland, 1955), pp. 10-11.

[4] Ibid., p. 25.

[5] Joseph Zelle, St. Vitus Church (South Hackensak, N.J., 1969), pp. 4-17.

[6] Frank Cesen, op. cit., p. 13.

[7] Ayer Press, Ayer Directory of Publications (Philadelphia, 1972).

[8] Frank Cesen, op. cit., p. 14.

[9] Ayer Press, op. cit.

[10] Frank Cesen, op. cit., p. 13.

[11] Ayer Press, op. cit.

[12] Frank Cesen, op. cit., p. 14.

[13] Ayer Press, op. cit.

[14] Frank Cesen, op. cit., p. 13.

[15] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

[16] S.N.D., Souvenir Book of the Opening of Slovenian National Home - 1 & 2 March, (Cleveland, 1924).

[17] Strekal, Jakob, Papers - Translation of Annual Report 1916-1917 of Dr. Kern, (Cleveland).

[18] William Gamson Rose, op. cit.

[19] Interview with Jakob Zakelj, January 24, 1974.

[20] Frank Turk, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

[21] Frank Surtz, S.D.Z. Golden Anniversary (Cleveland, 1960), pp. 1-2.

[22] Paul Schneller, Papers in the possession of Jakob Strekal.

[23] Frank Cesen, op. cit., p. 15., and
Jakob Strekal, Papers in possession of Jakob Strekal.

[24] Refer to list compiled by Slovenian Team (Cleveland, 1973).

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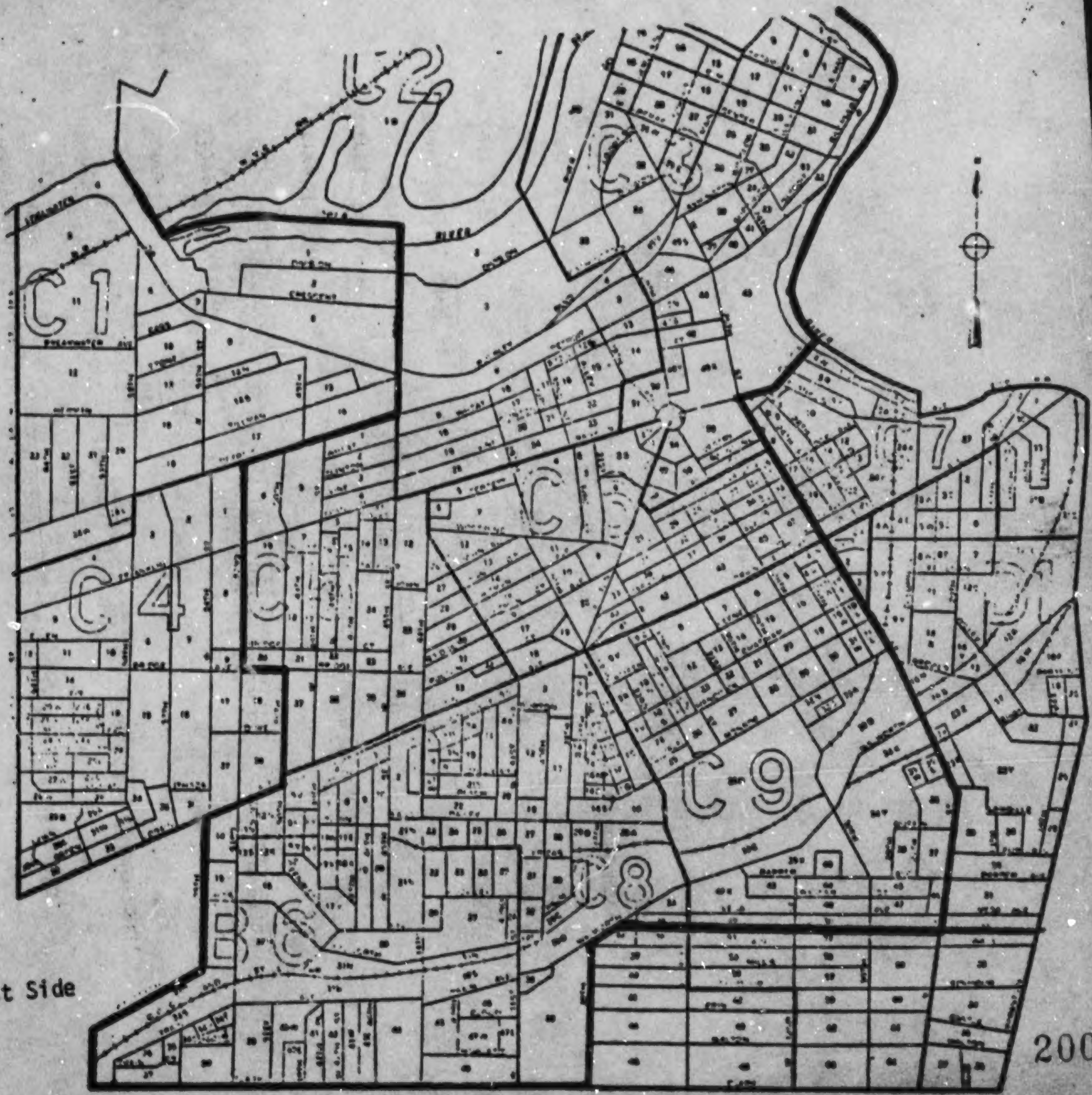

C1
C4
C7
C9
C8

Map 19.

Puerto Rican Near West Side Neighborhood - 1970

Development of the Puerto Rican Near West Side Neighborhood

Migration

The Puerto Rican community of Cleveland is relatively new. At the turn of the century, a few Puerto Ricans may have trickled into the city as a result of Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War when Spain ceded Puerto Rico to the United States.[1] But the most important era of population growth for Cleveland's Puerto Ricans were the years 1945-1965. Its short history is not unlike previous immigrant communities at their inception: the beginnings of social and economic development and rapid population increase.

Immediately after the Spanish-American War, thousands of Latin Americans, predominantly Mexican and Puerto Rican, were recruited to fill needs for farm labor in the United States and Hawaii. Because of Mexico's proximity to the United States, Mexicans provided the lion's share of labor contracts on farms, in steel mills, and in factories. The tightening of The Public Charge, Contract Labor Provision and the literacy test in the 1930's,[2] however, drastically reduced the Mexican labor force. Being American citizens, the Puerto Ricans were given priority. In less than two decades the Puerto Ricans outnumbered their Mexican counterparts. The gap continued to widen when farms and factories cut off Mexican labor indefinitely.

After the Second World War, many Puerto Ricans moved to several major cities on the mainland. Some settled in New York, others in Chicago and Cleveland. The main attractions were steel mills, factories and agriculture. The agricultural workers settled in Northern Ohio, mainly Lorain, Avon Lake, Painesville, North Madison, Geneva, Unionville, and Ashtabula.

Agricultural workers were part of the domestic Puerto Rican labor force, who came under specific contracts, commuted on seasonal demand, and at termination of their contracts, went back to the Island. Some of them made subsequent contracts with option to remain on the mainland, settled in the States, and were followed later by their families.

In 1948, another group of farm workers, the migrants, came into being. Like the agricultural workers, they obtained contracts to work on the farms. But unlike the former, the migrant workers were not subject to returning to Puerto Rico; they could settle anywhere on the mainland after termination of their contracts. Both agricultural and migrant workers were funneled to various parts of the United States under the Puerto Rican Department of Labor Migration Division. During 1948 and 1949, about 5,000 workers left the Island. Three years later this number soared to an average of 12,000 yearly.

The first significant number of Puerto Ricans came to Cleveland in the early 1950's. Most of them came on a temporary basis, attracted by job opportunities, but once here many decided to settle permanently. The 1955 Cleveland Nationalities Directory lists a total of 1,500 Puerto Rican parents and children, some of whom had been born here.[3] The opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1956 boosted the number to about 4,595 and by 1960, Puerto Ricans accounted for about 82% of all Spanish speaking residents in the city. The following year the number increased to 6,500[4] and the 1970 census puts the number between 8,052 and 9,022.[5] Due to the high birth rate and constant migration from the island, the number could possibly double every decade into the foreseeable future. Presently there are more than 10,000 on the near West Side alone.[6]

Development of Neighborhoods

Puerto Rican neighborhoods are dispersed over twenty-seven census tracts, ten on the East Side and seventeen on the West Side.

The majority of those who came in the 1950's settled on the East Side in the areas around Hough, Lexington and later Superior Avenues. Their reason for choosing this area was the proximity to Our Lady of Fatima Catholic Church, 6508 Quimby, and St. Paul's Shrine, 4120 Euclid Avenue. These institutions had Spanish-speaking, Trinitarian priests on their staffs.

In 1958, an exodus began from the East to the near West Side. Competition with Blacks for housing, fear of the violence and neighborhood deterioration were influential in this exodus. In other cases, the exodus was caused by the need to be closer to jobs, most Puerto Ricans being employed by steel mills and other "flats" area industries.[7]

Business and Economic Development

Many Puerto Rican women are employed by Joseph & Feiss Company and Lyon Tailors as seamstresses. The men found jobs at such firms as Chevrolet, Republic Steel, and Jones & Laughlin Steel Company doing assembly work.

The majority of Cleveland's Puerto Rican population falls into the lower income brackets. These men and women came to the United States mainly for economic reasons. Those who were financially well off and more educated had no desire to leave the island.[8]

The near West Side is an area of one hundred year old wooden homes. It has been the center of many ethnic communities in their struggle for "The American Dream." Irish, Slovak, and German immigrants were among its early inhabitants. Now it is predominantly Spanish speaking and Appalachian white. The area is speckled with "mom and pop" delicatessen stores on many street corners. Several are Puerto Rican owned.

There are approximately forty other businesses owned by Spanish Americans (mostly Puerto Rican); businesses such as amusement parlors, barber shops, record and gift shops, automotive services, dry cleaning and laundry facilities, service stations, bakeries, groceries, restaurants, coffee shops and bars.

Hector Suarez, a community relations representative for the City of Cleveland, was instrumental in the formation of The Puerto Rican Economic Development Corporation in 1969. Mr. Suarez now serves as the Chairman of its twenty-six member board. The Corporation has its office at 3500 Lorain Avenue. In 1971, Angelo Lupo, a VISTA volunteer, became its Executive Director and in 1972, David Herr, another VISTA volunteer, joined him as Associate Director.

The first project of the Corporation, a "Taco Luke" fast food restaurant, carrying American style food also, was opened at West 38th Street and Lorain Avenue in mid-February of 1974. The Corporation will receive 1% of the gross profits of the restaurant which it will plow back into other business ventures. The Corporation's next project will be a drug store in the same vicinity, operated by a Spanish speaking pharmacist.

In the future, the Corporation has hopes of building a Spanish oriented shopping center and establishing classes in managerial and bookkeeping skills for store owners and prospective store owners. All these services will be open to anyone in the community and the Corporation hopes to serve all interested persons in the area: Black, white, Indian, Appalachian or Spanish. At present the Corporation is involved in taking a census of Spanish owned area businesses. The aim of the census is the creation of a businessmen's association.

Cleveland has, also, a Puerto Rican millionaire, Oscar Gabriel. Mr. Gabriel owns several grocery stores in Cleveland and Lorain and is in the wholesale grocery business. He is responsible for helping many of the people who own "mom and pop" stores get started.

Political Aspects

Politically the Puerto Ricans have not been able to muster the strength to elect a member to the City Council. In 1969, Moises Maldonado and Aurea Rivera both ran against Margaret McCaffery for the Ward Eight Democratic Council candidacy. Mrs. McCaffery received 2,176 votes, and the combined figure of the other two candidates was only 675.[9]

There are at least two well known political parties: the Liga Democrata (Democratic League) and the Comite Hispano Democrata (Spanish Democratic Committee). There are more than 4,000 registered Puerto Rican voters in Cleveland. About half of this number vote on a regular basis. About 1.1% of Puerto Ricans are registered as Republicans, while there are about 44% declared Democrats, but they do not necessarily vote along party lines.[10]

Churches

Historically, most Puerto Ricans are Roman Catholic, although there are several Protestant churches with Puerto Rican followings. The first Catholic churches in the Cleveland area to take a special interest in the Puerto Ricans were located on the East Side. They were Our Lady of Fatima Parish, 6805 Quimby, and St. Paul's Shrine at 4120 Euclid Avenue. Father Thomas Sebian, an American born Spanish-speaking missionary was living at St. Paul's as early as the 1940's and worked under the direction of the Trinitarian Fathers (Order of the Blessed Trinity). Several Catholic churches on the near West Side, East Side and South Side of Cleveland have special services for Spanish-speaking people. These services include special masses in Spanish, social services on a limited basis, and many clubs and organizations for all ages. In this respect probably the most active is St. Patrick's, 3602 Bridge Avenue, served by Father Oscar Gumicio. A bilingual elementary school, the Urban Community School of The Cleveland Board of Education, is located on its grounds. The school is staffed by Catholic sisters but is non-sectarian in character.

Other churches offering some programs to Puerto Ricans are St. Stephen's, 1930 West 54th Street; St. Francis, 7119 Superior Avenue; Our Lady of Lourdes, 3395 East 53rd Street; St. Michael's, 3114 Scranton; St. Augustine, 2486 West 14th Street; St. Rocco, 3205 Fulton Road, and St. Wenceslaus, 17825 Libby Road.

In 1954, the Catholic Diocese of Cleveland established the Spanish Catholic Mission. It was located on West 28th Street. Now it is in the St. Stephen's High School building. Its first director was Father Thomas Sebian; presently it is headed by Father Antonio Pagan.

The Mission's thrust is toward religious, social, and cultural activities and believes strongly in the need for the Cleveland School System to provide a proper education that meets the needs of Puerto Ricans as citizens, a responsibility which the Mission believes is not yet fulfilled.

There are several Pentecostal churches on the near West Side, and one on the East Side. The first of these, the Spanish Assembly of God, 2280 West 11th Street, was founded in 1952 by Reverend Ramirez. The church has two hundred members at present and is housed in its own building. Its pastor is Reverend Jacob Bonilla. Other Spanish Pentecostal churches in the area include Iglesia De Dios, 1710 Mentor Avenue, founded in 1961 by Reverend Librado Ramos. It began with a membership of twenty and has now grown to seventy-five. The Spanish Pentecostal Church of God, on 1565 East 36th Street, was organized by the present minister Reverend Felipe Santiago. Counting adults eighteen and over, it has a membership of about seventy-five. The Spanish Assembly of God, located in a store front building at 4303 Lorain Avenue, was founded in 1969 by Reverend Jose Rodriguez. Its membership has increased from fifteen in 1969 to 115 people. The Church of God, Inc. is located in a store front at 3233 West 33rd Street. Its first pastor in 1964 was Reverend Domingo Torres, and the church is now administered by Reverend Bernardo Davila. It started with five members and now has about fifty.

Other Protestant churches are Alienza Christo y Misionera, an Evangelical church; The Christo Community Methodist Church

(Iglesia De Christo Unida), corner of Chatham and Fulton Avenues; and the Jehova's Kingdom Hall, 5503 Clark Avenue.

Outside of the recognized churches, one may find remnants of old superstitions that many Puerto Ricans cling to, such as the use of special dolls, herbs, and candles.

Communication Media

Of the Puerto Rican publications, one should mention El Mensajero Latino (The Latin Messenger), published by the Spanish Catholic Mission from 1958 to 1969, top circulation 3,000 copies weekly; La Voz Hispana, edited by Nicholas Bucur, published in the 1950's; and the English-Spanish Plain Press, published by the West Side Community Center. In 1967, the Spanish American Committee published a printed newsletter which it distributed in stores and through the mail. Its circulation was about 4,000. Publication was terminated the same year because of the high cost of postage.

The Cleveland Press has a special column on Mondays with news of Puerto Rico, and on Thursday the column is devoted to events of the local Spanish-speaking community.

El Diario, the largest Spanish language daily in the United States, was carried at Torres Food Market between 1966 and 1971, but was discontinued because there were only six or seven papers sold weekly.

The most recent publication is El Sol (1973). It is published by Jose Pena and other Cleveland State University students. The first three issues were free, but subscriptions are now being sold.

The Puerto Rican community depends upon WXEN-FM and WZAK-FM radio for daily Spanish news and music. WDOK-FM presents "Latin Echoes" on Sundays. Puerto Rican businessmen buy air time to advertise their businesses. Since December 1973, Spanish-interest "spot" messages have been carried on Channel 61-TV. Father Oscar Gumucio is the announcer of the thirty-second presentations.

Clubs and Organizations

There are many Puerto Rican social clubs in Cleveland. These organizations are mainly social in character, but also fulfill the important function of helping in emergency situations when food, clothing, or money for burial are needed. They provide the essential "first aid" which can not be found through other channels.

The oldest of these clubs is Sons of Borinquen, founded in 1951 by Alfonso Romero, Tiofilo Virola, and Pedro Ilerio. Its purposes were: referrals to jobs, welfare and education agencies, information about the new culture they had entered, and death benefits. The club closed in 1962 because of lack of funds. Hijos De Juana Diaz, 1033 Fairfield Avenue, was founded in 1959 and functioned until the summer of 1973. The group's last President was Gilberto Rodriguez.

Other social and beneficial clubs now in existence are: (1) La Casa Puertorriquena, 2105 Abbey Avenue, which started in 1969 with nineteen members and now has seventy-five. As stated by Antonio Ramos, their main purpose is helping youth with sports activities; (2) The Sociedad Deportiva San Lorenza, whose president is Luis Silva, has thirty active members and is not only social and beneficial in character, but sports-oriented as well; (3) El Paraiso Club, 2858 West 25th Street, was incorporated by the State of Ohio in 1973 and has thirty members. Manuel Perez is its President. The Club's aims are civic, social and sports activities; (4) Club Yabucoa, 2440 St. Clair Avenue is located on the East Side of Cleveland. Its President is Ermes Ortiz, and the club is social and civic in nature.

There are many church-affiliated organizations such as: The Damas Catolicas, a Catholic women's organization, located at Our Lady of Fatima, St. Stephen's and St. Patrick's Churches; Club Familias Catolicas; Hijas DeMaria Youth and the CCY youth groups located at St. Patricks' and Sociedad Santo Nombre located at St. Stephen's Church.

A coffee house, now defunct, operated in the basement of St. Patrick's Church from 1969 to 1972. It was closed by the Federal Government because of accusations of narcotics trafficking. While it was open, the coffee house served as a center for teenagers and its loss has been sorely felt, according to area residents.

The Martin Porres Society of St. Patrick's Church, consists of ten to fifteen members who volunteer their services to gather used furniture and food for the needy. Their President is Enrique Paoli. The group started in 1956, at Our Lady of Fatima Church, with the assistance of Father Antonio Pagan. Other clubs and organizations are: "The Organization of Spanish-speaking Protestants," "Club Patriotas DePuerto Rica," "Group P.R. 76," "Hijos DeArroyo" and "Grito DeLares."

Among nonsectarian organizations one finds: Amvets Post #57, 2944 West 25th Street (President, Roberto Rodriguez), whose purpose is to help veterans and needy children. The group is chartered by the State of Ohio. Hijos De LaLiberdad, dedicated to helping convicts and ex-convicts, was organized in 1971, with nearly one hundred active members. However, due to a conflict among board members, the Club is presently inactive. An offshoot of this club is the Spanish-American Culture Club at Mansfield Reformatory, with twenty-five members. The Club is open to any inmate interested in Spanish culture.

PRISA (Puerto Ricans in Social Action) is a new group, with many leaders of the Puerto Rican community as members. Although its purpose is to be an "umbrella" organization for the whole Spanish community, it appears to be run by Puerto Ricans. There is no chairman or president. A different subcommittee chairman is in charge of each monthly meeting, such as chairman of the Education, Fund Raising or Youth subcommittee. This PRISA coalition proposes to make existing groups, such as the Spanish-American Committee, function more smoothly.

La Raza Unida of Ohio, founded in 1965, is normally considered a Mexican group in other parts of the United States, but in Cleveland it is uniquely Puerto Rican in character. Its purpose is to help migrant workers and other Spanish-speaking urban residents of the State of Ohio. Domingo Ortiz was its first director. In 1970, there were seventy-five active members, but by 1972, the membership had dwindled to ten and was not functioning well at all. The main problems seem to be lack of funds and prejudice by Puerto Ricans who feel that it really is a Mexican organization.

The Spanish-American Committee for a Better Community was organized in February of 1966 by Louis Delgado of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and Chico Cara of the Cleveland Federation for Community Planning. Its aim is to serve the whole Spanish-speaking community, but it is run by and serves primarily Puerto Ricans. Anita Toncho was its first director, and Jose A. Rodriguez its first president. Other officers were Nelson Rodriguez, vice president, and Aurea Rivera, secretary. The board is composed of ten members and its composition has varied greatly from year to year.

Anita Toncho acted as director from 1966 to 1968 when she was succeeded by Al Sumner who was director in 1968 and 1969. In 1969, Jose Verios became its director and served until 1971. The director since that time has been Pedro Ilerio while Antonio Ruiz has been his assistant for one year. The Committee also employs an office secretary and two social workers. Chairmen of the board have been: Jose A. Rodriguez, 1967 and 1968; Egnacio Soto, 1971; and Moises Maldonado, 1972 and 1973. The office of the Committee is located at 4500 Lorain Avenue. At present, the Committee is looking for larger quarters to house its many projects, among which are:

1) Teaching English to adults for employment purposes,

2) CREA (Create Educational Resources Now), a program to assist high school students in filling out college financial aid and entrance forms and provide information and counseling.

3) The Career Opportunity Program, sponsored by the Cleveland Board of Education, which aims to train Puerto Rican teachers for the Cleveland Public Schools; seventeen students are currently enrolled.

4) A bilingual-bicultural day care center, funded by HEW, with an average of sixty children now being serviced. Director is Mrs. Hilda Sumner.

5) The Spanish American Drug Prevention Center, located at 1861 West 25th Street, began helping hard and soft core drug users in 1972 and has helped over 100 people. The aim of the agency is to give individual counseling, refer cases to other agencies, and present drug prevention programs. The only thing they can not do is give medication.

6) A program of job development established by the Committee, has led to closer working relationships with the Bureau of Employment and Manpower Training and Development programs and assists newcomers in adjusting to Cleveland.

7) The Credit Union, established in 1967 to serve the Spanish speaking community with consumer counseling services to aid in preventing the over-extension of credit and avoiding purchases of shoddy or dangerous merchandise. It offers loans at low interest rates to its five hundred members. It has 100,000 dollars in shares and 59,000 dollars in loans outstanding at present.

8) The Cuyahoga County Spanish-American Civil Council provides non-partisan political education to the Spanish-speaking community. The aim of the program is to develop the community's knowledge of the political system.

9) The Veterans' Outreach Program of the Spanish-American Committee was founded in November of 1972 by the National Puerto Rican Forum. Its purpose is to assist Puerto Rican veterans in job placement and referral, and to provide training and social services. Since its inception this agency has assisted 88 people. The agency's coordinator is Edwin Romero.

Recently, the Committee along with members of the general Spanish community, has been instrumental in changing the height and weight requirements for hiring by the Cleveland Police Department since Puerto Ricans had difficulty in meeting these standards. Also, recently aided by the Committee, the State of Ohio changed driver test requirements, and the examination may now be taken in Spanish. Although the Committee is recognized as a viable force in the community by most residents, the Committee is the first to recognize that some are also criticizing it for not doing enough.

In 1956, at the time when the St. Lawrence Seaway created a need for Puerto Rican workers in the community, the Puerto Rican Department of Labor opened its own Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in The Arcade, downtown. Carlos Gomez was its first Director. Raul Vega, present Director, has an office staff of three. The office regulates migrant contract working conditions, interviews and refers Puerto Ricans for jobs and offers technical assistance to the Spanish-American Committee or any other Puerto Rican group in need of their assistance.

Community Leadership

It is impossible to select one top leader in this community of many distinguished personalities. The names one hears most often are: Raul Vega, Pedro Ilerio, Antonio Ruiz, Moises Maldonado, Hilda and Al Sumner, Betty and Domingo Ortiz, Hector Suarez, Oscar Gabriel, Aurea Rivera, Father Antonio Pagan and Father Oscar Gumucio. Another distinguished Puerto Rican is Magalina Miranda, Assistant Dean of The School of Applied Social Sciences at Case-Western Reserve University. Although Miss Miranda lives outside the community, she is of enormous assistance to it. Many community proposals have been written by her. Among all these leaders and many others not mentioned, there is a cohesiveness of purpose which prevails throughout. With their joint efforts, Puerto Ricans in Cleveland are establishing a viable community which, by now, is an asset to the city and brings pride to their heritage.

Cultural Activities

The community has two special days each year. The first, Puerto Rican Friendly Day, has been celebrated each summer since 1969 and grows in size each year. Several years ago Miss Universe, who was Miss Puerto Rico, was the guest of honor. In 1973, a carnival and parade highlighted the festivities and received television coverage. The parade and other Friendly Day events have three specific purposes: to inform the Greater Cleveland community that Puerto Ricans exist and are friendly, to unite the Puerto

Rican community, and to get people participation in an activity uniquely Puerto Rican.

On June 25th, a religious parade is always held either in Cleveland or Lorain to commemorate the Dia De San Juan (St. John's Day), the patron saint of San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Education

One of the most pressing problems in the Puerto Rican community through the past decades has been the continued need for bilingual schools. The majority of students who enter the Cleveland Public Schools are proficient in neither Spanish nor English. English was the official language of Puerto Rican schools until 1948, but it is now only a subject.[13] When a student arrives in the United States, he needs, on the average, two years to adequately learn the English language. If the student is in the upper grades, this often creates such a frustrating situation that he or she drops out of school.[14]

The Cleveland Public School System has attempted to solve this problem mainly by creating the ESL (English as a Second Language) program in elementary schools and acculturation classes in Wm. Dean Howells Jr. High, and Lincoln Jr. High for seventh, eighth and ninth graders. Pupils are learning about the Latin American culture, language and history. At Lincoln West Senior High, a full Latin American culture curriculum is also available. Hicks Elementary School has had a bilingual program for the last three years.

Recreational Facilities

There are several public recreation facilities in the Spanish-speaking residential areas. The City of Cleveland has recreation centers at 5706 Clark Avenue, 4125 Fulton Road, and 1201 Starkweather Avenue, and 2883 West 11th Street. A skating rink is located at 3550 West 117th Street. There is a YMCA but no YWCA. There are no bowling alleys or family type movie houses. The public schools provide playgrounds for the children and summer recreation programs, but apparently budgets permit only the most basic activities.

In the summer of 1973, many parents were afraid to send their children to some of these programs. Frequently, the older children intimidated and harrassed the younger ones. Vandalism is common; the pool at Greenwood Recreation Center has had glass thrown into it several times, and playgrounds and ball parks are vandalized.

As a group, the Puerto Ricans are impressive. They have accomplished much in a short period of time. They are unique in the fact that they come here as American citizens and can move back and forth to Puerto Rico with comparative ease. Many come with their worldly possessions in a shopping bag, to find a better life.

They are fiercely proud of their traditions, customs and beliefs which have in a relatively short time, enriched Greater Cleveland's economic and cultural life.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Agueros, Jack. "The Spanish Speaking Community of Greater Cleveland." Unpublished study copyrighted by The Institute for Soviet Studies, John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio, 1970, p. 2.

[2] Divine, R.A. American Immigration Policy, 1924-1952. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut. 1957.

[3] "Cleveland Nationalities Directory." Nationalities Services Center. 1955.

[4] Ibid. 1961.

[5] Census Tracts, Cleveland, Ohio. SMSA, U.S. Department of Commerce Publication, 1970, p. 35.

[6] Maldonado, M., of the Spanish American Committee for a Better Community, estimates 15,000 at present.

[7] Conversations with Mr. Betty Ortiz of the Cleveland Department of Human Resources and Economic Development, January 14, 1974, and Raul Vega, Director, Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, January 25, 1974.

[8] Conversations with Raul Vega, May 16, 1973 and Betty Ortiz, January 14, 1974.

[9] 1969 Primary Election Abstracts for Cuyahoga County, Cleveland, 1969.

[10] Agueros, J., op. cit., p. 8.

[11] "Puerto Rican Community Service Organizations throughout the United States," Migrant Division, Department of Labor, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, 1971.

[12] Conversation with Raul Vega and Pedro Ilerio, November 1, 1973.

[13] Conversation with Raul Vega, November 28, 1974.

[14] Agueros, J., op. cit., p. 18-20.

SURVEY ANALYSIS

General Survey Characteristics

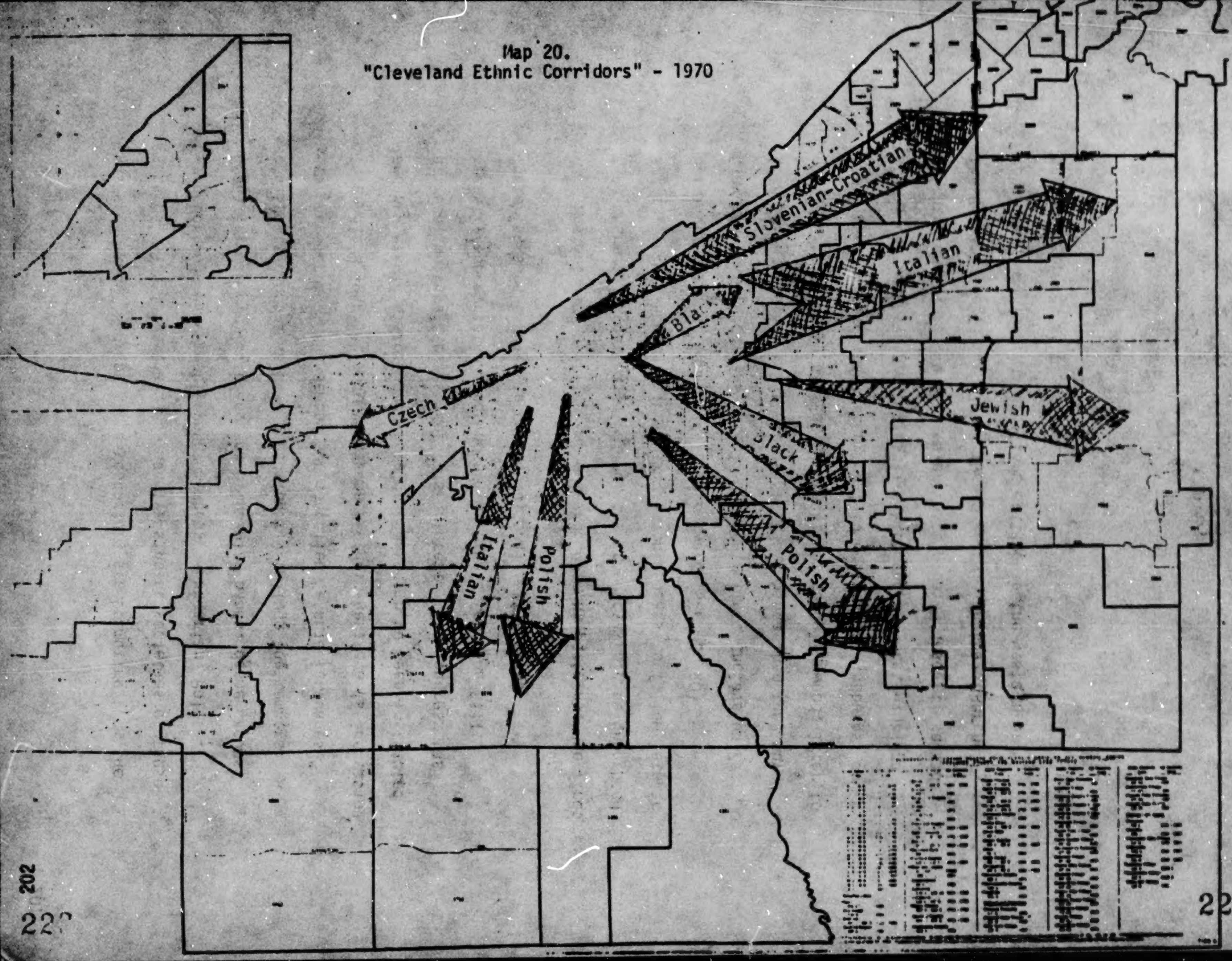
In analyzing survey data of the four neighborhoods, one finds many similarities and just as many differences. Each neighborhood has its own individual characteristics and, with the exception of the Puerto Rican community which is still in its developing stage, its own long lasting internal organizational structures.

Because the population of the old neighborhoods (excluding the Puerto Rican community) is slowly decreasing and the average age of neighborhood residents is higher than the city average, the continued viability of these neighborhoods has been questioned; based on the fact that the younger population is moving out, statements are made predicting the disintegration of ethnic communities and the disappearance of ethnicity from the American scene.

From our preliminary study and subsequent survey of the four neighborhoods, indications are that ethnicity is not disintegrating, that people do not move out because of loss of interest in the ethnic community or ethnic heritage. The majority of those who move to the suburbs continue to keep strong ties with old neighborhoods. They return to their former communities for socials and church activities; many maintain membership in their nationality churches and send their children to Saturday language schools. The St. Vitus Slovenian Saturday School has more children enrolled this year (approximately 170) than it did in 1952 when the school was organized. Many of these youngsters are commuting from the suburbs. The largest and most active singing societies of these neighborhoods have mostly young members. Hungarian, Polish, Croatian, Czech, Slovenian, and Lithuanian bands, dance groups, and sports clubs also have predominantly college age members. A new phenomenon is the demand for so-called "ethnic languages." Interest in learning more about one's ethnic heritage is increasing and new ethnic history and sociology courses have been instituted at local universities to meet this interest. The Congress has recently appropriated funds under the Ethnic Heritage Bill fostering such studies in our educational institutions.

Besides, in observing the outward movement patterns, one finds that there is a continuity between the inner city old neighborhoods and the newer suburbs. The outmigration appears to follow "ethnic corridors" from an inner city area outward (see Map 20). Slovenians and Croatians established their first enclave on East 25th Street and St. Clair Avenue in 1890. Since then they moved east along St. Clair and East 152nd Street to Collinwood; later to the City of Euclid and further east to northeastern suburbs, so that today northeastern cities like Richmond Heights, Highland Heights, and Wickliffe have mayors of Slovenian descent; so did the City of Euclid for almost twenty years. On the other hand, very few Slovenians and Croatians settled in the western or southern suburbs of Cleveland.

Map 20.
"Cleveland Ethnic Corridors" - 1970


Slovenian-Croatian
Italian
Bla
Jewish
Black
Polish
Czech
Italian
Polish

Similarly, the Poles established their first neighborhood on East 65th Street and Foreman Avenue. From there they extended their neighborhood to Broadway Avenue and along it south to Garfield Heights and Maple Heights. The Polish West Side neighborhood on West 14th Street around St. John Canisius Parish moved south to Parma creating a corridor between the East Side and West Side Polish suburban communities.

The Italian neighborhood around St. Rocco parish also established a "corridor" to Parma while the East Side neighborhood which started around Hay Market in Downtown moved to Little Italy on Mayfield Road and from there spread eastward to Mayfield Heights, Lyndhurst, and South Euclid.

The Jewish community which started around Hay Market moved southeastward to Cleveland Heights and from there spread to Beachwood. There are very few Jewish families in Lakewood or Rocky River. Except for one old temple on the West Side and a seminary in Wickliffe, all other Jewish centers are between Mayfield Road and Chagrin Road, East Boulevard and Beachwood.

Similarly, one "corridor" of the Black community spread eastward from East 22nd Street to Glenville and another along Euclid Avenue to Woodhill, Harvard, and Pleasant Valley.

In a recent study on ethnic dispersion for the City of Omaha, Nebraska, Howard Chudacoff states that, "With but few exceptions residential mobility dispersed immigrants from the inner city in all three directions, rarely congealing them into ethnic pockets in the outer regions or in the zone between the core and the periphery."[1] The Chudacoff findings do not seem to apply to Cleveland.

Our findings are closer to Erich Rosenthal's study of the Jewish community in Chicago.

> Today, of the total Jewish population in the Chicago area, estimated at 282,000, nearly 60 percent have settled into one area stretching from Albany Park in the southwest of the City to Highland Park.
>
> The settlement pattern of the Jewish group - or, for that matter, of any group - is determined by the "push," the pressure, that other ethnic and racial groups exert, as well as by the "pull" that draws a group to a new neighborhood.[2]

Also noteworthy in this respect are Otis D. Duncan and Stanley Lieberson's study on "Ethnic Segregation and Assimilation,"[3] and Stanley Lieberson's study, "Suburbs and Ethnic Residential Patterns."[4]

Therefore, in Cleveland, the outmigration is not due to the loss or rejection of ethnic ties but rather to a number of other exogenous forces, which can be grouped as follows.

Mobility

Mobility, produced by the great improvements in transportation facilities has created a new type of "extended community," one in which distances do not prevent maintaining strong ties.

Prestige

People leave the old ethnic neighborhood as they move up the economic scale and look for more prestigious suburban communities. This is true for all income groups, not necessarily ethnic groups, but it is more visible in ethnic communities. Even within an ethnic community, some streets are more prestigious than others. As long as a society emphasizes material values, prestige will influence residential choice.

Pride

There are no incentives for the upkeep of old neighborhoods. In fact, property taxes are raised with any major home improvement and many believe that the government is discouraging the perpetuation of ethnic neighborhoods. As the neighborhood ages, so pride in it slowly decreases. Furthermore, the educational system, by emphasizing Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture, tends to produce inferiority complexes and loss of pride in one's own heritage whether Black, Oriental, Puerto Rican, or Eastern European. During the World War II period, immigrants from Germany, Japan and Italy, dejected by the actions of their home governments and intimidated by the prejudicial actions of local people, left their neighborhoods to conceal their ethnic identity.

Protection

Some people leave old neighborhoods because of inadequate police protection and a consequent lack of security for the community. Crime rates are high whenever mass movements of people occur from and to the city. New residents, arriving in large numbers, produce prejudices and hostility; this is true for 1974 as it was in the 1880's, 1920's, and 1960's. In the Hungarian neighborhood, for example, over 50 percent of the respondents have been victims of crime at one time or another. Crime or fear of crime has been one of the major reasons for leaving the neighborhoods on Buckeye Road and St. Clair Avenue.

The Puerto Rican community possesses a different set of problems not related to outmigration but to the need for consolidation, internal organization and stabilization possible only through a greater political and economic control over their own neighborhood. In many respects their community can be compared to the struggle of Blacks during the 1950's and 1960's for their neighborhood rights. In contrast to the three older neighborhoods, the age composition of the Puerto Rican community is very young. While in the Hungarian neighborhood two-thirds of the heads of households are 51 years old and over, in the Puerto Rican community two-thirds of heads of households are between 26 and 50 years old and only 8 percent are over 51.

With regard to education, illiteracy is non-existent among Slovenian-Croatians but 5 percent of Puerto Ricans and 8 percent of Italians (the old immigrants) are still illiterate. On the other hand, 8 percent of Hungarian respondents have a college education.

A rather substantial number of Slovenian households (23 percent) have an income below $3,600 while over 18 percent of Hungarian households have an income over $12,000.

The highest percentage of homeowners was found in the Italian neighborhood (81 percent) and only 35 percent in the Puerto Rican community. With regard to the value of homes, only 16 percent of the Hungarian respondents felt that the value of their home appreciated even though purchased over 30 years ago, while 74 percent of Italian respondents thought that their home appreciated in value during the same period. Only 7 percent of Puerto Rican homeowners had their homes paid for, while in the old neighborhoods 55 percent had no mortgage on their house.

To the question, "Would you stay in your community without ethnic activities, shops, church services, etc. so that it would no longer exist as an ethnic community," over two-thirds of the Slovenian-Croatian respondents replied that they would not remain in the neighborhood; however, 80 percent of the Puerto Ricans answered that they would, giving the explanation that suburban life is too expensive and that they want to be close to their friends and relatives.

All respondents very strongly supported the concept of a Landmark Community, particularly Italian respondents (99 percent).

FOOTNOTES

[1] Howard Chudacoff, "A New Look at Ethnic Neighborhoods: Residential Dispersion and the Concept of Visibility in a Medium-Sized City." Journal of American History, 60 (June, 1973), p. 85.

[2] Erich Rosenthal, "Acculturation without Assimilation, The Jewish Community of Chicago, Illinois." American Journal of Sociology, 65 (November, 1960), pp. 275-288.

[3] Otis D. Duncan & Stanley Lieberson, "Ethnic Segregation and Assimilation," American Journal of Sociology, 64 (January, 1959), pp. 364-374.

[4] Stanley Lieberson, "Suburbs and Ethnic Residential Patterns," American Journal of Sociology, 67 (May, 1962), pp. 673-681.

Analysis of the Hungarian Community

For almost two generations the Hungarian community of Buckeye Road was growing and prospering. It had all of the attributes of a healthy community. Why then, a mass exodus of Hungarians in the late sixties and early seventies?

In our survey of twenty-five local community leaders and 115 personal interviews of local homeowners of Hungarian extraction we can report the following findings.

1. Type of Household*

Most households are composed of older couples without children.

37%: husband, wife, no children
32%: husband, wife, with children
14%: single female
7%: female head with children
7%: single male
2%: male head with children

We interviewed 90 males and 103 females. Only 17% of the households had one or more relatives living with the family.

2. Age

42% of male household heads and 40% of female household heads were over 66 years old and an additional 35% over 51 years old. Only 20% were between ages 26 to 50.

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*Any discrepancies in percentages are due to respondents' omissions

Age	Male	Female
15 - 18	0	1%
19 - 25	1%	3%
26 - 50	19%	20%
51 - 65	35%	35%
66 and over	42%	40%

Only 2% of the families had six or more children, and another 2% had five children.

3. Education

A rather substantial number of heads of households (8%) had some college education. However, 2% were without any formal education.

	Male	Female
preschool	1%	1%
elementary - public	22%	28%
elementary - private	6%	4%
secondary - public	32%	38%
secondary - private	15%	14%
technical - public or private	10%	3%
jr. college - public or private	2%	4%
college - public	6%	2%

Of the male respondents 93% were able to speak in the Hungarian language and only 86% of the females.

	Male	Female
write in your ethnic language	83%	72%
speak in your ethnic language	93%	86%
read in your ethnic language	87%	76%
have some understanding	0	3%
have no understanding	0	3%

In general, the older children had greater proficiency in the Hungarian language than younger ones. However, 86% of all respondents felt that youngsters should be exposed to ethnic cultures.

Only 3% disagreed. 96% of the males and 84% of the female respondents were proud of their heritage.

4. Ethnic Background

All but 5% of the male respondents were of Hungarian background. On the other hand, only 84% of the female respondents were of Hungarian origin, while 5% were of Slovenian-Croatian background, 3% of other Slavic origin, 1% Anglo-Saxon, and 4% of other nationalities. Most of the respondents were born abroad but the percentage is not substantial.

	Male	Female
born abroad	60%	54%
American born	26%	35%
2nd generation	8%	5%
3rd generation	1%	2%

Of the 60% males and 54% females who came to America, most came before 1924. However, a substantial percentage immigrated in the 1950's.

	Male	Female
prior to 1880	0	0
1881 - 1914	15%	16%
1915 - 1924	13%	14%
1925 - 1939	10%	6%
1940 - 1956	19%	14%
1957 - 1965	1%	1%
1966 - 1970	1%	
1971 and after	1%	

Only 72% of the male respondents and 85% of the female respondents stated that they are American citizens. Similarly, only 69% of the males are registered voters and 67% vote regularly. Of the female respondents 80% are registered voters and 79% vote regularly.

70% of the male respondents said that since settling in America, they had always lived in Cleveland; however, only 50% of the females had resided permanently in Cleveland.

5. Employment

Of the male respondents 50% were full-time employed and 38% were retired. The remaining group was part-time employed or self-employed (9%). Of the female respondents 40% live off pension benefits and only 8% work full time.

Most of the male respondents listed trades (craftsman, foreman, operator), managerial, and professional positions as their occupation; only 3% are listed as laborers.

Of the 60% who are employed, length of employment in the present position was listed in years as follows:

1 year	4%
2 - 4 years	2%
5 - 10 years	11%
11 - 15 years	6%
16 - 20 years	13%
21 - 30 years	17%
31 years and over	6%

However, of the 60% who are employed full time, only one-quarter are employed in the Hungarian community, and the others (with a few exceptions) travel the following distances to their place of employment by private car.

less than 5 miles	8%
5 - 10 miles	20%
11 - 15 miles	14%
16 - 20 miles	1%
21 miles and over	0

Only one third of the male respondents stated that they would leave the Hungarian neighborhood if their employer would move from the present place of employment. The remaining two-thirds stated that they would stay.

6. Income

Since most of the Hungarian households are small (1 or 2 persons), their income levels seem to be well above the city average. Non-response rates to these questions are, however, rather high; no effort at probing beyond the question itself was made.

Income $	Male	Female
below 3,600	8%	17%
3,601 - 7,200	18%	14%
7,201 - 12,000	19%	5%
12,001 - 16,000	14%	4%
16,001 and over	4%	0

A substantial number of respondents also stated that they received money income from sources other than employment; in some cases this amounted to well above $7,500 per year. Many Hungarians seem to save alot and invest.

7. Homeownership

The greatest concern of all respondents has been expressed with regard to homeownership problems. 77% of the respondents were homeowners who bought their homes during the last 70 years.

Between 1901 - 1920	2%
1921 - 1930	11%
1931 - 1940	14%
1941 - 1950	15%
1951 - 1960	15%
1961 - 1970	17%
1971 - and after	3%

Therefore, a large percentage of these respondents have owned their homes for over 30 years. These homes were purchased for an average of $12,500 to $15,000.

do not remember	5%
less than $5,000	3%
$5,001 - $7,500	10%
$7,501 - $10,000	7%
$10,001 - $12,500	9%
$12,501 - $15,000	21%
$15,001 - $20,000	13%
$20,001 - $25,000	4%
$25,001 - $30,000	2%
$30,001 and over	3%

Most of the mortgages on these homes are now paid.

mortgage paid up	65%
have mortgage outstanding	12%

It is interesting to note that a substantial percentage bought their home with cash.

16% bought their home with cash
8% of the homes were inherited
32% bought their home through commercial banks
12% bought their home through savings and loan associations
1% bought their home through VA financing
4% bought their home by borrowing from friends
2% bought their home through bond contract

None of the respondents used FHA methods of financing. Many are reluctant to make any home improvements because they believe that home values are deteriorating due to the sharp influx of low income Blacks. They blame FHA and HUD for these problems claiming that government agencies are unfair toward present homeowners in evaluating their properties for less than what they have paid (even though comparable homes during the same period on the West Side substantially increased in value). They also blame HUD and FHA for backing up the purchase of these homes by low income buyers who do not have the income or the aptitude for keeping up these properties. It is estimated by Mr. John Palasics that approximately 200 neighborhood homes have been repossessed by FHA during the last four years, especially those which were purchased under Section 235. Many respondents have mentioned "blockbusting" as the technique used by realtors to produce street panic pushing market prices down which in turn is the reason for FHA low appraisal of these homes. This creates a vicious circle producing a feeling of helplessness on the part of long time residents.

Even though many area residents seem to be disheartened by the existing conditions and are cynical and very angry at government policies, they still hope that public officials will re-evaluate their approach in favor of conservation and rehabilitation of a long standing neighborhood.

8. Mobility

Under present conditions, 71% of the respondents do not plan to move from the neighborhood. Only 17% are planning to leave within the next five years. Those who are planning to stay listed as main reasons for staying (in order of priority):

Nationality churches	19%
Convenient shopping facilities	14%
Cheaper to live here	9%
Relatives and friends live in this area	7%
Transportation facilities	5%
Too old to move	3%

Those who are planning to move listed (in order of priority) the following reasons:

Fear of Blacks	23%
Unsafe to stay - crime rates	12%
Deteriorating property values	6%
Inadequate school programs	4%
Poor public services	3%
Relatives and friends left	3%

However, those who are planning to move would decide to stay if:

The Black population would not increase in the area	44%
Crime and safety on the streets would improve	20%
More local control would be given to local residents over the future of their community	14%
Property taxes would decrease	8%

To the question whether they would stay if the community would be selected as a landmark area with special privileges, 65% said yes and 5% would not change their decision about moving. The majority of the respondents (36%) expressed the opinion that they would not stay in the neighborhood if it would no longer exist as an ethnic community. Of the 32% who felt that they might still stay, the main reasons indicated for staying were (in order of priority):

Suburban life is too expensive	8%
Too old to move	7%
Convenient transportation	7%
Convenient to place of employment	6%
Friends and relatives are staying	4%

In general, respondents would still stay even though:

Property taxes would increase	15%
Schools in the area might close down	7%
Friends and relatives might have left	4%
As long as crime would not increase	15%

9. Church Affiliation

87% of the respondents stated that they are members of local churches. Only 3% said that they are not. Of those who are members of a religious denomination:

75% belong to the Catholic Church
9% belong to the Reformed Church
2% belong to the Lutheran Church
2% belong to the Presbyterian Church
2% belong to other Protestant denominations
1% belong to the Orthodox Church

80% of the respondents attend church services weekly, 5% monthly and 5% rarely. Of those who attend church services weekly, 75% attend ethnic language services. As to the question of whether given a choice they would prefer to attend services in their own ethnic language, 83% said that they would prefer to and 98% would favor keeping the ethnic aspects of their church. In fact, almost two-thirds of the respondents devote free time to church activities, are members of church organizations and attend church social affairs. Only 10% of the respondents believe that the church has no influence on their family life while 37% believe that it has a very deep impact on their lives.

10. Shopping Facilities

A large percentage (92%) believe that quality local shopping facilities are declining. However, local business facilities are still adequate in their opinion.

74% - yes, are adequate
13% - no, are not adequate
13% - did not respond

Respondents favor having shopping facilities which would cater primarily to their own nationality group:

75% - yes
8% - no
17% - no answer

Of the existing business facilities they rank as excellent: restaurants, hardware stores, banks and drug stores. Of the government offices, they seem to be quite satisfied with only the local post office, public library, and hospitals.

11. Crime

Abrupt changes in neighborhood composition with its ensuing deterioration in some areas brought its by-product: high crime rates, among the highest in the city. The majority of the respondents (51%) have been victims of crime and 40% suffered property losses. Respondents believe that City Police services are inadequate. They support the existing auxiliary police and think that it should be expanded (59% - yes, 21% - no). Vandalism and juvenile delinquency are viewed as serious community problems by two-thirds of the respondents.

Perhaps the single most serious problem directly affecting the life of each citizen of the area is crime. Many, discouraged by inadequate policy protection do not even bother to report any crimes. People are afraid to walk to the store or church unless walking in a group.

Today, although only a fraction of its 1950's size, the Hungarian neighborhood still offers the basic ingredients of a viable community with its variety of businesses, services, churches, schools and social activities along Buckeye Road. However, as shown by the demographic map, time is running out - the willingness and ability of the neighborhood to survive is fading out - unless something is done, and quickly. By 1976, our bicentennial year, Hungarians and other Americans may observe the loss forever of the "Mother Community" of all Hungarians outside of Hungary.

Analysis of the Italian-St. Rocco Neighborhood

St. Rocco's Italian neighborhood is neither the oldest, largest, nor most popular of the Cleveland Italian neighborhoods. It has shown, however, the type of cohesiveness, community spirit, and concern which makes it one of the most active ethnic neighborhoods on the west side of Cleveland. Even though aging slowly, the community is still viable and easily could be revitalized if given proper incentives. Of the eighty households surveyed, the following data represent a summary of the findings.

1. Type of Household*

As opposed to the Hungarian neighborhood, most of the surveyed households were composed of families with children.

56% had a husband, wife, with children
16% had a husband, wife, no children
4% had a female head with children
1% had a male head with children
4% had a single male
19% had a single female

We interviewed 62 males and 75 females. Only 12% of the households had other members, usually relatives living with the family.

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*Any discrepancies in percentages are due to respondents' omissions or rounding of percentages.

2. Age

Again, as opposed to the Hungarian neighborhood, St. Rocco's community had a more even distribution among various age groups. Only 16% of the respondents were over 66 years old.

Age	Male	Female
26 - 50	36%	41%
51 - 65	24%	35%
66 and over	16%	17%

Also a larger percentage (4%) had six or more children and 20% more than four children.

3. Education

A rather substantial percentage of respondents had no formal education, with the majority having completed at least their elementary education (probably before emigrating to the United States).

	Male	Female
preschool	5%	3%
elementary - public	27%	35%
elementary - private	0	8%
secondary - public	32%	32%
secondary - private	4%	11%
technical - vocational	4%	1%
jr. college	0	0
college	1%	1%

It is interesting to note that while all the respondents were of Italian extraction (see below) and professed an Italian background, their fluency in the Italian language was rather low compared with other ethnic neighborhoods.

	Male	Female
write in ethnic (Italian) language	48%	37%
speak in ethnic (Italian) language	66%	54%
read in ethnic (Italian) language	49%	42%
understand the language	49%	34%
have some understanding	3%	8%
have no understanding	3%	11%

Most of the older children had a better understanding of the Italian language than the younger ones. However, 97% of the respondents felt that it is important for children to be exposed to their own culture and background.

4. Ethnic Background

Seventy-three percent of the males and 76% of the females were of Italian background. Other backgrounds mentioned, in order of priority, are: Slavic, Anglo-Saxon, and other Latins.

As to place of birth, 35% males and 39% female respondents were born abroad. In addition, 25% males and 28% females were first generation Italian Americans. Therefore, a substantial percentage of respondents are not listed by the Census Bureau as being of Italian background, even though they still openly express an affinity to the Italian culture and background.

Of the 35% male and 39% female immigrants who settled in Cleveland, the following came:

	Males	Females
Between 1881 - 1914	5%	3%
1915 - 1924	12%	8%
1925 - 1939	1%	7%
1940 - 1956	4%	9%
1957 - 1965	7%	3%
1966 - 1970	8%	9%

Eighty-two percent of the male and 88% of the female respondents were American citizens and registered voters, but fewer women than men voted regularly. All male respondents stated that they are proud of their ethnic heritage; only 1% of the females expressed some reservations about the validity of ethnicity.

From the time they came to Cleveland, a large percentage of male respondents (72%) and 60% of female respondents have always lived in the same neighborhood. The remaining respondents (15% males and 23% females) have lived in other Cleveland neighborhoods prior to settling in the St. Rocco's parish area.

5. Employment

Of the 77% male respondents:

- 50% were employed full-time
- 5% were employed part-time
- 8% were self-employed (included in full-time employed)
- 13% were retired

Only 16% of the female respondents were full-time employed and 7% part-time. Of those who were employed full-time or part-time (54% males and 23% females), we found the following employment categories:

	Male	Female
self-employed - professional	4%	1%
self-employed in service trades	4%	1%
professional - technical	5%	4%
managers, administrators	1%	2%
sales - clerical workers	4%	7%
craftsmen - foremen - operators	21%	0
transportation or service workers	7%	1%
laborers or private household workers	9%	7%

As to the length of employment in present position (in years):

Years of Employment	Male	Female
1 year or less	9%	2%
2 - 4 years	6%	7%
5 - 10 years	11%	6%
11 - 15 years	13%	4%
16 - 20 years	5%	2%
21 - 30 years	5%	1%
31 years and over	2%	0

Only 14% of the male workers were employed in the neighborhood. Most of them travel by private car (49%) or use public transportation (2%) or car pools (1%). Distance to work was listed as follows:

less than 5 miles	19%
5 - 10 miles	15%
11 - 15 miles	2%
16 - 20 miles	1%
21 miles and over	2%

Of the 54% respondents who were employed, only 9% said that they would leave the neighborhood if their company would move (from its present address); the remaining 45% would stay in the neighborhood.

6. Income

Income related data are sketchy since our researchers were asked not to press for such information. It seems, however, that most respondents were earning an income between $7,200 and $12,000 a year, while only a small percentage made less than $3,600. Approximately 30% of the respondents had between $5,000 to $10,000 in their savings accounts.

7. Homeownership

Of the respondents, 83% owned their homes, while 17% rented an apartment. None of the homeowners bought their home prior to 1900.

2% purchased between 1901 - 1920
6% purchased between 1921 - 1930
11% purchased between 1931 - 1940
16% purchased between 1941 - 1950
16% purchased between 1951 - 1960
25% purchased between 1961 - 1970
7% purchased in 1971 and after

As to purchase price:

4% did not report a price
17% paid less than $5,000
10% paid between $5,001 - $7,500
6% paid between $7,501 - $10,000
13% paid between $10,001 - $12,500
10% paid between $12,501 - $15,000
19% paid between $15,001 - $20,000
2% paid between $20,001 - $25,000
2% paid between $25,001 - $30,000

53% reported to have paid up their mortgages. 30% reported to have a mortgage loan outstanding. (17% are not homeowners.)

A large number of homeowners have done substantial improvements on their homes ranging from:

less than $1,000 to over $10,000
5% spent less than $1,000
9% spent between $1,001 - $2,500
25% spent between $2,501 - $5,000
30% spent between $5,001 - $10,000
7% spent over $10,000

As to financing method:

7% bought their home with cash
2% inherited their homes
1% financed by an insurance company
37% financed by commercial bank

32% financed by savings and loan association
1% obtained VA financing
1% obtained FHA financing
1% borrowed from friends

As opposed to the Hungarian neighborhood, 75% of the homeowners said that their home appreciated since it was purchased. Only 1% thought that it might have depreciated while 5% did not know whether it appreciated or depreciated.

Of the 17% who were tenants:

6% pay between $51 to $75 per month
8% pay between $76 to $100 per month
1% pay between $101 to $125 per month
1% pay between $126 to $150 per month

In most cases their landlords lived in the building (8%) while in 3% of the cases the landlord lived in the community and in 6% of the cases, he lived outside of the community.

8. Mobility

Ninety-six percent of the respondents stated that they plan to stay in the neighborhood if it stays as an Italian ethnic community. Only 4% were planning to move some time in the future because in their opinion property values are deteriorating and there is a lack of space for children. Of those who are planning to stay, the following reasons were listed in order of priority:

Nationality (Italian) parish
Convenient shopping facilities
Cheaper to live here
Relatives and friends live in the neighborhood
Parish school
Too old to move

However, the majority (54%) would move if the community would no longer exist as an Italian neighborhood. Of the 44% who would stay, the following reasons were mentioned in order of priority:

Too old to move
Suburban life is too expensive
Convenient to place of employment
If friends and relatives would stay
Convenient transportation

Respondents felt that the following changes would revitalize the aging neighborhood:

Crime and safety on the streets would improve
New recreational facilities would be opened
Property taxes would decrease
City services would improve
More local control over future of the neighborhood
Government subsidies for community improvements
Better parking facilities
Bilingual education

9. Church Affiliation

Ninety-nine percent of the respondents stated that they are members of a church. Of these, 97% belong to St. Rocco's Catholic Church, 1% to the Lutheran Church and 1% to the Methodist. It is interesting to note that 82% of the respondents are attending church services weekly and only 9% rarely, while 6% go to church at least monthly.

To the question of whether they attend ethnic language services:

32% said that they attend weekly
19% said that they attend monthly
27% said that they attend rarely
20% said that they never attend

If they had a choice, 62% of the respondents preferred to attend services in their ethnic language while 35% had no preference. While 49% were members of church organizations, 51% were not. Of those who were, 37% attended meetings regularly while 13% only attended sometimes. On the other hand, 75% of the respondents said that they regularly attend church social affairs and festivals, while 16% did so only at times, and 4% were not interested in such activities. It is also interesting to note that 52% donated their time to church activities while 44% were rather passive. Also, 92% favored keeping the ethnic aspects of the parish life, but 82% would not leave the community simply because the church stopped offering services in their ethnic language.

10. Shopping Facilities

Seventy-two percent of the respondents believed that presently neighborhood shopping facilities are adequate even though declining. But 94% favored having new commercial establishments which would offer Italian specialties attracting the attention of people from outside the community.

The best represented merchant outlets were food stores, drug and delicatessens and banks. The number of lawyers, physicians and dentists seems to be quite adequate. There does not seem to be a need for new hospitals, post offices or public libraries.

11. Crime

Crime in the area is not yet a serious problem. Sixteen percent of the respondents have been victims of crime - mostly property crime - and only 4% of these have suffered monetary losses. In fact, 62% believed that crime problems are worse in the suburbs. However, in order to lower crime rates and eliminate the fear of crime from area residents, 67% of the respondents would favor establishing an auxiliary police.

In conclusion, we can say that respondents sensed the slow aging process of the neighborhood; they were concerned by the steady outflow of younger families to suburban areas and believed that this trend could be reversed only by innovative programs which will bring new stability to the neighborhood.

Analysis of the Slovenian-Croatian St. Clair Neighborhood

Through much of the Twentieth Century, the St. Clair neighborhood served as an area where Slovenian and Croatian immigrants received their first exposure to American life. The mixture of American and Slovenian customs created an environment of stability and vitality hardly found in other Cleveland neighborhoods. However, now one can sense some form of social and physical aging partially influenced by the surrounding areas which are seriously deteriorating and by the general public apathy in the value of preservation of ethnic neighborhoods.

From our survey of the 92 Slovenian and Croatian households, we can report the following.

1. Type of Household

Most households can be defined as strong family units. However, there was a substantial percentage of older couples. Household distribution was as follows:

46% had a husband and wife with children
23% had a husband and wife with no children
6% had a female head with children
7% had a single male
18% had a single female

Twenty-seven percent of the families had up to four other members, mostly relatives living with them.

2. Age

A rather large percentage of respondents were between 26 and 50 years old - a rather unusual ratio for an older neighborhood.

Age	Male	Female
15 - 18	1%	1%
19 - 25	1%	2%
26 - 50	32%	41%
51 - 65	33%	30%
66 and over	10%	18%

Most of the families had two or three children while 3% had over five.

3. Education

All respondents have at least an elementary education.

	Male	Female
preschool	0	0
elementary - public	20%	28%
elementary - private	21%	22%
secondary - public	27%	26%
secondary - private	4%	8%
technical	1%	2%
jr. college	3%	2%
college	2%	2%

The percentage of respondents who speak in their ethnic language was large:

	Male	Female
write in the ethnic language	63%	61%
speak in the ethnic language	74%	76%
read the ethnic language	70%	73%
have some understanding	12%	30%
have no understanding	5%	4%

While not more than 10% of the children were fluent in the ethnic language, 97% of the respondents stated that in their opinion children should be exposed to the culture of their parents (only 1% disagreed).

4. Ethnic Background

Eighty-seven percent of the male respondents and 88% of the female respondents were of Slovenian-Croatian background. This would imply, therefore, that about 13% of the respondents are of mixed marriages. Most of the respondents were American born:

	Male	Female
Born abroad	32%	35%
First generation	43%	44%
Second generation	10%	4%
Third generation	9%	11%

A large percentage of the immigrants came during the decade following World War II.

	Male	Female
From 1881 - 1914	6%	7%
1915 - 1924	1%	3%
1925 - 1939	0	1%
1940 - 1956	12%	12%
1957 - 1965	6%	5%
1966 - 1970	4%	4%

Of the male and female respondents, 2/3 had always lived in this neighborhood and 1/10 had lived in other parts of Cleveland prior to settling in this community. Some (4% males and 7% females) had been St. Clair residents for over 60 years.

5. Employment

Sixty percent of the male respondents and 25% of the female respondents were full-time employed while 13% of the male and 23%

of the female respondents were retired. The following employment categories were listed by those who were either full-time or part-time employed:

	Male	Female
self-employed - professional	1%	0
self-employed - retailer	3%	2%
self-employed in service trades	0	2%
professional - technical	9%	2%
manager - administrator	2%	3%
sales - clerical worker	4%	10%
craftsman - foreman - operator	26%	3%
transportation or service worker	11%	1%
laborer or private household worker	3%	12%

As to the length of time in present employment, they listed the following:

	Male	Female
1 year	8%	3%
2 - 4 years	6%	9%
5 - 10 years	9%	14%
11 - 15 years	9%	4%
16 - 20 years	18%	1%
21 - 30 years	5%	2%
31 years and over	4%	3%

Eleven percent of male and 14% of female respondents are employed in the neighborhood. Others have to drive by private cars the following distances:

	Male	Female
less than 5 miles	21%	13%
5 - 10 miles	12%	6%
11 - 15 miles	11%	2%
16 - 20 miles	1%	1%
21 miles and over	2%	0

Eighty-five percent of the full-time employed respondents would not move from the neighborhood even if their company would resettle.

6. Income

Most of the male respondents earned an income between $7,200 and $12,000 a year. However, 14% received less than $3,600 (some of these respondents work part-time only). On the other hand, most of the female respondents earned $3,600 or less. Most respondents seemed to be very thrifty; 14% had over $7,500 in savings deposits. They dislike buying on credit. As a result they do not tend to spend over their income. Since they buy with cash, many do not even have a credit rating.

Few of the residents live on welfare. In fact, if a federally-funded program were initiated in the community, it would be necessary for local leaders to handle the program. The people have great pride in the fact that no government money has ever been used to pull them out of their financial difficulties.

7. Homeownership

Seventy-two percent of the households interviewed owned a home while 26% were tenants. Of the homeowners:

1% purchased the home before 1900
1% purchased the home between 1901 - 1920
8% purchased the home between 1921 - 1930
5% purchased the home between 1931 - 1940
9% purchased the home between 1941 - 1950
15% purchased the home between 1951 - 1960
23% purchased the home between 1961 - 1970
5% purchased the home in 1971 or after

Home values for comparable structures seem to be lower here than on the West Side of Cleveland. Purchase prices listed were:

1% less than $5,000
7% between $5,001 - $7,500
16% between $7,501 - $10,000
11% between $10,001 - $12,500
19% between $12,501 - $15,000
8% between $15,001 - $20,000

Of the 72% who were homeowners, 60 stated that they have paid up their mortgage loans. A large number also claim to have invested substantial sums in home improvements:

2% paid less than $1,000
14% paid between $1,001 - $2,500
18% paid between $2,501 - $5,000
19% paid between $5,001 - $10,000
12% paid over $10,000

For home improvements, practically all respondents used cash - very few borrowed. In fact, a large number bought their home with cash.

8% received it through inheritance
10% paid cash
6% financed by insurance company
20% financed by commercial banks
16% financed by savings and loan company
1% financed through FHA
9% borrowed money from friends

As an expression of the uncertain conditions surrounding the neighborhood:

31% believed their home had depreciated
12% believed their home had appreciated
12% believed their home value had remained the same
15% did not know the existing market values

Many residents believed they have homes which are comparable to those in the suburbs. The style might be outmoded but the houses are structurally sound. They do not believe in paying exorbitant prices for an old house in the suburbs which might be in worse condition than an old house in their community.

Of the 28% of respondents who were renting an apartment:

3% paid less than $50
13% paid between $51 - $75
12% paid between $76 - $100

In 15% of the cases, the landlord lived in the building; in 5% of the cases he lived in the community; and in 5%, he lived outside the community (in 3% of the cases, the tenant did not know the landlord's residence).

8. Mobility

Eighty percent of the respondents did not plan to move from the neighborhood and of the 20% who did plan to move:

10% planned to move as soon as possible
5% will move sometime in 1974
5% will move within the next 5 years

Many of these decided to move because their children would reach high school age and there are no private high schools in the vicinity. They believed that public high schools (like East High) do not offer quality education and white children are harassed by the predominantly Black student body. Of those who planned to stay, the following reasons were given, in order of priority:

Nationality church
Too old to move
Transportation facilities
Good parish elementary school (to 8th grade)
Relatives and friends

People appreciated the fact that family, friends, church, stores, and social activities of the community were within walking distance. Automobiles were necessary only when venturing out of the community.

Fifty-nine percent would move if the neighborhood would not exist as an ethnic community. Of those who would prefer to stay, the main reasons listed were: age (too old to move), and convenience to place of employment.

In general, respondents were concerned about increasing crime rates, including vandalism, pressure from Black neighborhoods to move in this area (which is diminishing) and property taxes.

9. Church Affiliation

Only 1% of the respondents said that they have no church affiliation. Two percent are members of protestant and other non-Catholic congregations while the rest are Roman Catholic. Of these, however, 3% do not attend church services and another 7% go to church only rarely. On the other hand, 4/5 go to church weekly. Of the 90% who attend church:

45% attend weekly ethnic language services
20% attend monthly ethnic language services
14% rarely attend ethnic language services
10% never attend ethnic language services

However, only 8% do not attend church social affairs and festivals. Fifty percent are members of church organizations, donate free time to church activities and in their family life are strongly influenced by the nationality church.

While 93% favored keeping the ethnic aspects of the parish life (3% do not) 30% would leave the community if the parish would no longer exist as a nationality church.

10. Shopping Facilities

It seems that 75% of area retailers speak in the ethnic language. A large majority (77%) of the respondents felt that their community shopping facilities are adequate (14% disagreed) and only 26% thought that the local stores are declining in number and quality. However, 2/3 would favor having more ethnic type of businesses which would cater to and attract people interested in this kind of outlet.

Local residents seemed to be most adequately served by the following establishments:

- Banks and other financial institutions
- Hardware stores
- Physicians and dentists
- Food stores
- Drug stores
- Public library

11. Crime

To the question of whether the respondent's family has been a crime victim in the neighborhood, 70% answered negatively and 30% affirmatively. Of these, 12% were victims of a more serious crime. Even though only 37% of the respondents believed that city police services are not adequate and some felt that police officers spend too much time in local bars, there seemed to be a consensus about the great value of having an Auxiliary Police. In fact, 77% were willing to financially support the auxiliary police and expand it (only 22% would prefer to keep it at its present level).

In the opinion of 58% of the respondents, crime problems are as serious in the suburbs. Drug problems did not seem to be serious (72% no vs. 18% yes). Similarly juvenile delinquency and vandalism were not viewed with alarm.. They believed that this can be improved by opening up new recreational facilities and "mini-parks" where there are vacant lots.

The community seems to continue to be one of the most active ethnic neighborhoods of Cleveland. The location is ideal being bounded by major interstate systems I-90 and the Innerbelt leading to I-71, as well as by two convenient bus lines. However, as previously stated, automobiles are necessary only when venturing out of the community.

The older residents are able to help themselves as long as they are ambulatory since they can reach stores, churches, attend community affairs and visit with relatives by walking. Because these people walk more frequently than suburbanites, they have more frequent occasions for social interaction. This reinforces bonds of familiarity among residents, creating a true environment of neighborhood life.

Analysis of the Puerto Rican Near West Side Neighborhood

Of the four ethnic neighborhoods, the most difficult to analyze is the Puerto Rican. It is a young, growing and fluid community, still shifting from one sector of the Near West Side to another, so that streets which might have been heavily Puerto Rican in 1970, by now have only a few families left. It would be easier to analyze the "Cleveland Puerto Rican Community" than a Puerto Rican neighborhood since in the area of our survey - which presently has the heaviest concentration of Puerto Ricans in Cleveland - there might be even more Appalachian families. On the other hand, some of the surveyed streets have over 35% Puerto Rican households.

Most of the survey data summarized below, show the problems and anxieties of a young ethnic group, still undecided, but attracted by the possibility of creating a permanent home in Cleveland. Naturally this group can not be compared to immigrants coming from Europe or Asia. It is an American ethnic minority whose lower income classes, by resettling here from their island, found a chance to better their economic conditions within an open society.

1. Type of Household

Of the 106 interviewed households, 76 respondents were male and 98 female. Following is their household composition:

55% with husband, wife and children
8% with husband, wife and no children
27% with female head and children
8% with single male
2% with single female

2. Age of Household

Relatively few respondents were over 51 years of age; none were over 65 years old.

Age	Male	Female
15 - 18	0	3
19 - 25	6	13
26 - 50	48	68
51 - 65	20	8
66 and over	0	0

Most families had at least three children but 16% had 6 or more.

3. Education

Four percent of the respondents did not have a formal education:

	Male	Female
preschool	1%	4%
elementary - public	39%	44%
elementary - private	0	2%
secondary - public	25%	38%
secondary - private	2%	3%
jr. college	5%	2%
college	2%	1%

Seven percent of their children had either completed or are presently attending college. Naturally all Puerto Rican parents are fluent in their ethnic language; however, in a few instances of mixed marriages the spouse only understood Spanish.

	Male (out of 76)	Female (out of 98)
write in ethnic language	72	83
speak in ethnic language	74	93
read ethnic language	73	83

The children were fluent in the Spanish language but in a few cases only understood Spanish.

Seventy percent of the parents were satisfied with the present education system (9% were not), mainly because education is a luxury in Puerto Rico while in Cleveland it is free. However, all respondents believed that it is important to expose children to their ethnic culture, and many expressed a need for bilingual education both in public and private parochial schools.

4. Employment

Most male respondents were full-time employees. However, a relatively large percentage received public assistance.

	Male	Female
full-time employed	51%	15%
part-time employed	1%	2%
self-employed	2%	0
student	2%	2%
retired	0	0
receiving unemployment benefits	0	0
receiving public assistance	7%	28%
without public assistance and employment	5%	5%

A relatively large percentage were employed as farm laborers (probably on a seasonal basis).

	Male	Female
self-employed - professional	7%	5%
self-employed - retailers	2%	2%
professional - technical	6%	1%
managers - administrators	1%	0
sales or clerical workers	1%	2%
craftsmen - foremen - operators	25%	5%
transportation or service workers	5%	12%
laborers or private household workers	9%	2%
farm laborers (seasonal)	8%	0

As to the length of employment in present position, the following data were given in years:

	Male	Female
1 year or longer	12%	8%
2 - 4 years	9%	8%
5 - 10 years	11%	4%
11 - 15 years	8%	0
16 - 20 years	15%	0
21 - 30 years	1%	0

Only 13% of the respondents are employed by neighborhood establishments; others are either using private cars or public transportation to travel the following distances to their place of employment:

	Male	Female
less than 5 miles	15%	8%
5 - 10 miles	23%	3%
11 - 15 miles	5%	0
16 - 20 miles	2%	0
21 miles and over	1%	0

To the question of whether they would resettle if their employer would move: 21% said that they would, while 35% would remain in the neighborhood.

5. Income

Income from employment was listed as follows:

	Male	Female
below $3,600	6%	14%
$3,601 - $7,200	20%	6%
$7,201 - $12,000	24%	3%
$12,001 - $16,000	2%	1%
Over $16,000	1%	1%

Only 1% of the respondents listed other sources of income besides employment. Most were not able to save (44%) while 24% were able to.

6. Homeownership

Sixty-four percent of the respondents did not own a home. Of the 35% who did, only 2% bought their home before 1920. The remaining 33% listed the following years of purchase:

prior to 1930	2%
1931 - 1940	1%
1941 - 1950	1%
1951 - 1960	5%
1961 - 1970	20%
1971 and after	6%

Listed were the following purchase prices:

less than $5,000	2%
$5,001 - $7,500	3%
$7,501 - $10,000	6%
$10,001 - $12,500	6%
$12,501 - $15,000	8%
$15,001 - $20,000	3%
$20,001 - $25,000	3%

Only 7% of the respondents had their homes paid for. Others listed the following financing institutions:

Insurance company	1%
Commercial banks	21%
Savings and Loan Co.	1%
VA financing	1%
FHA financing	1%
land contracts	7%

Practically all homeowners (27%) felt that their home appreciated in value; only 3% thought that it depreciated while 2% claimed that the market value of their home had not changed.

The 65% of the respondents who were tenants, listed the following rental charges of their apartment:

less than $50	2%
$51 - $75	6%
$76 - $100	35%
$101 - $125	14%
$126 - $150	4%
$176 - $200	1%

These rents were somewhat higher than the ones listed in the three other neighborhoods. It was also interesting to note that, as opposed to the other three neighborhoods, most Puerto Rican landlords did not even live in the community:

The landlord lived in the building	8%
The landlord lived in the community	12%
The landlord lived outside the community	37%
Landlord's address unknown	7%

7. Mobility

Even though the majority of respondents were tenants, 71% stated that they were not planning to move from the neighborhood. Of the 26% who expressed plans to move:

4% said that they would like to move as soon as possible
3% would move this year (1973)
1% would move next year
5% would move within next five years
13% would move sometime in the future

The following reasons were mentioned for planning to move:

Unsafe to stay
Lack of space for children
Poor shopping facilities (quality-wise)
Noise produced by vehicles (motorcycles, especially during the night)

But these respondents would change their minds (about moving) if crime and safety on the streets would improve along with city services, bilingual education and more local control over the future of the neighborhood.

Conversely, the main reasons for staying in the neighborhood were listed as follows (in order of priority):

Cheaper to live in this neighborhood
Schools with Spanish programs
Convenient shopping facilities
Relatives and friends live in the neighborhood
Transportation

Seventy-three percent vs. 15% would prefer to stay in the neighborhood even if it would no longer exist in its present form primarily because suburban life is too expensive and because friends and relatives might stay.

8. Church Affiliation

Only 9% of the respondents did not belong to a religious denomination while 91% listed the following churches of their choice:

68% Catholic
2% Lutheran
3% Methodist
11% other Protestant
7% other denominations

In general, respondents stated that they attend church services quite regularly:

58% weekly
15% monthly
14% rarely
5% never

However, only 20% are members of a church organization and only 17% attend church meetings. But many like to donate their free time to church activities and most respondents believed that they are strongly influenced by their church. If they had a choice, they would overwhelmingly prefer services in their ethnic language (90%); even though only:

55% attend weekly services in their own language
19% attend monthly services in their own language
9% attend rarely
5% never attend

9. Shopping Facilities

It seems that very few (less than 25%) local retailers speak Spanish. Otherwise 85% of the respondents believed that shopping facilities are quite adequate in the neighborhood. However, they have complained about the poor quality of some groceries, especially perishables and meats found in the local corporate chain stores. Most respondents would like to have their own nationality stores. Best represented in the area are the following commercial establishments:

Delicatessens
Food stores
Drug stores
Hardware stores
Hard goods
Dry goods (furniture)
Financial institutions
Physicians and Dentists
Hospitals

10. Crime

Only 4% of the respondents were victims of crime and 53% of the respondents believed that City Police services were adequate, even though a substantial minority would favor auxiliary police for the area, being concerned over increasing vandalism, juvenile delinquency and drug problems.

In conclusion, we can say that Cleveland Puerto Ricans are an exciting ethnic group which brought to Cleveland a new dimension in a cosmopolitan life. But, in order to mature into a stable and strong neighborhood, they need a representative organization which would gain the trust of the majority of the area residents. Puerto Ricans have a number of distinguished and devoted personalities who have taken seriously the welfare of their own people. However, rather than allowing fragmentation for the sake of individual tastes, they should solidify their social political and economic forces into "ad hoc alliances" whenever political or economic reasons would dictate a united front for the benefit of all Puerto Ricans.

ETHNICITY AND PROPERTY CRIMES

The apparent relationship of increasing crime rates and neighborhood deterioration coupled with the well-documented growing concern of surveyed communities in personal and property security prompted us to undertake a separate analysis of the relationship between ethnic communities and property crimes. Specifically we wanted to determine the impact of ethnicity and other variables on crime rates.

Methodology

Usually most of the studies use multiple regression analysis to examine the importance of various determinants of crime. But such a technique provided ambiguous results because of the problem associated with multicollinearity. We opted for factor analysis, a technique which eliminates the above problem.

In this investigation we chose a sample of 47 cities in Ohio with the populations of 25,000 and above for the year 1970. The variable selected to represent ethnicity of the city is percent of "foreign stock" families, i.e., families with foreign or mixed parentage (FOR). The ethnicity factor obtained by factor analysis[1] is defined as a group of variables which tend to group with the variable FOR.

Factor Analysis

Factor analysis was conducted on the selective determinants of property crimes of various types:

F_1 1. Median income.

F_2 2. Gini coefficient (measure income dispersion).

F_2 3. Percent of families below poverty line.

F_1 4. Percent of civilian labor force unemployed.

F_1 5. Median school years completed by those 25 years of age.

F_2 6. Percent of families with female heads.

F_2 7. Percent of families on public assistance.

F_2 8. Median size of the family.

F_3 9. Percent of persons living in the same house since 1965. This variable measures the stability of the area.

F_3 10. Percent of families with foreign or mixed parentage.

F_2 11. Area of the cities in square miles.

Factor analysis conducted on these eleven variables gave rise to three distinct factors. Each factor identifies a group of original variables which are more highly correlated among themselves. The variables 1, 4 and 5 formed factor one (F_1), variables 2, 3, 6, 7, 8 and 11 formed factor two (F_2), and variables 9 and 10 formed factor three (F_3). We called F_3 our ethnicity factor incorporating variables of foreign parentage and stability which is a characteristic of families with foreign parentage.

Results of Regression Analysis

Now the task before us was to find out the importance of the ethnicity factor in the determination of various types of property crimes (robbery, burglary, grand larceny and petty larceny) as compared to other factors.

Our analysis indicated that the ethnicity factor has no significant effect on robberies and burglaries, but it was the most significant factor in the case of grand larceny and petty larceny as evidenced from the following equations (Table 3).

Table 3. Multiple Linear Regression Equations for Grand Larceny (GL) and Petty Larceny (PL).

Dependent Variable	Intercept	F_1	F_2	F_3	F. Ratio	R^2
GL	0.0094	0.0013	0.0015	-0.0018	6.80	0.32
	(16.44)	(2.24)	(2.52)	(-2.81)		*
	*	*	*	*		*
PL	0.0168	-	0.0023	-0.0030	8.01	0.24
	(19.19)	-	(2.55)	(-3.02)		*
	*		*	*		*

a. The crimes are on per capita basis and the ratios are written underneath the regression coefficients.
*Significant at 5 percent level (one tail test).

The results in Table 1 indicate that the ethnicity factor enters with a negative sign and is the most significant factor. In other words, ethnicity is the most significant factor discouraging such types of crimes. It seems that ethnicity does not discourage serious types of crimes like robbery and burglary because such crimes are performed usually by hard core criminals whose "tastes" toward crimes are already fixed.

There are two reasons for the low crime rates due to ethnicity variable. First, such families are more disciplined and have a strong "work ethic." Secondly, such families have a close interpersonal relationship which contributes to stability of one's emotional life. This outcome is largely due to the import of the extended family system by these families from their original homeland. (See Fuchs, 1972, 152-155, for details.)[2]

In December 1973, Esquire Magazine listed Lakewood and Euclid, Ohio among the ten safest American cities as far as crime is concerned. Perhaps at first look this may seem irrelevant even though both are suburbs of Cleveland and geographically and economically linked with the city. What is significant, however, is that Hungarians have been resettling in large numbers from their Buckeye Road neighborhood to Lakewood, and that over 35% of the Euclid population is of Slovenian background. As Police Chief Frank W. Payne of Euclid said: "But the credit really should go to the many Slovenian people who live in Euclid. They really know how to raise their children. That's what really helps the police department."

One can conclude that in a highly fluid society like the United States, the ethnic element of the community should be preserved because it represents a significant socially stabilizing force as far as less serious crimes are concerned. It should also be noted that it is only through the prevention of less serious crimes we can hope to stop people from becoming hard core criminals.

FOOTNOTES

[1] For details on the technique of factor analysis see R. J. Rummel, "Applied Factor Analysis." Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University from 1970.

[2] Fuchs, L. H. Family Matters. New York, Random House, 1972.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Landmark Community Proposal

The four ethnic neighborhoods discussed in this study are but a few of several scattered around Cleveland. Most of them were strong and stable communities built to take care of their own people's needs and aspirations. None were pretentious or high income enclaves but humble as the people who settled there. By using their life savings, these people built their own homes around churches, local business establishments, and national homes.

However, the unending changes in urban living brought about by migration and redevelopment projects, disrupted the lives of these communities. Uncertainty about the future of property values, instability, and high crime rates in the inner city, precipitated the decay of some. Others withstood the pressures and while showing the effects of an aging process, are still viable and playing an important and positive role in the city's life. By continuing to offer these residents the kinds of services and security they look for, the city's growth can be enhanced and enriched, the variety of life styles expressed in their cultures, cultures which built Cleveland and gave the city its unique character among other metropolitan areas, will be strengthened serving as a bridge between America and other nations.

Unfortunately, in view of past government policies, their chance for survival is very slim. Any organism is bound to decay unless given proper nourishment.

Economically, it makes little sense to allow the deterioration of neighborhoods which have a willingness to exist as ethnic neighborhoods. Is it cheaper to prevent neighborhood and housing deterioration than to replace hopeless housing. With the sharp increase in housing costs, conservation and rehabilitation programs are far cheaper than the cost of tearing down dilapidated buildings and erecting new structures. Furthermore, a factor which must not be overlooked, is that the old communities are more humane. From this point of view, there is something seriously wrong with a policy that evicts people and moves them around like furniture. Brick and concrete housing based on the most advanced engineering ideas can not be substituted for the wishes of people who like simple homes filled with history and cultural experiences.

How then, to prevent the remaining old neighborhoods from sliding over the edge into new slums?

Our recommendation, based on interviews and observation of other cities' renewal programs is to establish within the inner city some carefully selected ethnic neighborhoods, both Black and white, as landmark ethnic communities. Privileges connected with this status would enhance not only the communities' stability but attract those who moved to the suburbs and other people enjoying this cultural environment to settle in the area by assuring a degree of prestige, pride and protection.

Not all of those who believe in ethnic values might be willing to return to these landmark communities; others, however, may well be disenchanted with suburban life, long commuting hours, high taxes, and overdependence on the automobile. This is not to speak of the still considerable numbers of people who presently live in these ethnic communities and who would be forced to leave if these areas were to become new slums.

This proposal is, therefore, a form of urban renewal, but renewal with the objective of stopping, reversing, or arresting the routine course of events that ultimately requires bulldozer type of redevelopment. Neighborhoods like the Slovenian-Croatian St. Clair community, St. Rocco's Italian community, and even the upper Buckeye Hungarian neighborhood (probably the most important of all from a historical perspective) could be used as a pilot project under this proposal.

The most striking aspect of stable and s[illegible] neighborhoods rests in its housing conditions. Information collected in our study reveals that a very high percentage (roughly two-thirds) of the residents own their homes. This fact clearly reflects the attachment of these people to Cleveland in general and to their neighborhood in particular. But far more telling is the evidence of the residents' attitude toward stability and permanency. The two-thirds who own homes have remained in the same residence for an average of twenty-one years at a time when the average American household moves every five years. This is remarkable. Since the Puerto Rican community is relatively new, the figures for the other three areas are all the more impressive.

In a previously mentioned study, Erich Rosenthal observed that:

> The surrender of an area to another group is probably greatly facilitated if the majority of the residents do not own their own homes . . . . In 1940, five years before the population exchange began, only 13.5 percent of foreign born Jewish persons were homeowners.[1]

The best place for a pilot program aimed at residential conservation would be an area in which the appropriate attitudes already exist. The surveys indicate that these attitudes of cohesiveness, of attachment to home ownership, and stability all exist in the areas studied.

As previously stated, our analysis shows that polarization is not so much a racial problem as an economic one produced by the fear of declining property value, income and security. Polarization is not new in Cleveland; it existed between early and subsequent immigrants in the 1830's, the 1880's, and the 1920's. Only in the 1950's and 1960's did it become a racial polarization because of heavy Black migration to Cleveland during this period. Puerto Ricans often encounter the same problems on the West Side as the Blacks on the East Side. When there is a large influx of people to an area, newcomers are usually blamed for all the problems. It takes time for them to develop roots, to settle, establish more permanent relationships, and to integrate within the larger urban community. However, the neighborhood is necessary as the link between people and the city as a whole. Contrary to what might be the initial reaction of some, landmark ethnic communities would not polarize but assure a degree of security enabling people to once again look to a more promising and stable future while giving to our old neighborhoods a degree of prestige, pride, and protection so vital for attracting those who left for the suburbs because such needs could not be met.

A landmark community approach is not unrealistic, uneconomic or unpopular. The concept is similar to the nationwide movement for the restoration of old neighborhoods. However, our proposal does not suggest using as a model the Old Georgetown in Washington, D.C. or the Beacon Hill in Boston or the Ghirardelli Square in San Francisco. Our concept is closer to the Mount Auburn project in Cincinnati,[2] the Old West Side neighborhood in Ann Arbor, Michigan,[3] the Soulard neighborhood in St. Louis,[4] or the German Village in Columbus, Ohio,[5] all of which are communities of modest, single or two family dwellings - apart from a few brick houses, mostly frame buildings - that were built around the turn of the century when Cleveland was on its way to becoming the "best location in the nation." Being solidly constructed, these buildings could be renovated and modernized where necessary, at a cost lower than the construction of impersonal new concrete districts which often become new slums even before their completion.

In several respects, the past and present of the Soulard ethnic neighborhood in St. Louis, Missouri, is similar to many of Cleveland's ethnic communities. Even the development of St. Louis as a city somewhat resembles that of Cleveland. Through joint private and public efforts, a new spirit of revitalization is beginning to occur. The Landmarks Association of St. Louis is spearheading the drive with the Soulard Neighborhood Improvement Association and Soulard Resources Incorporated. In addition, the City Plan Commission of St. Louis is preparing a restoration plan for Soulard. The neighborhood may be designated as the "City's historic district" and thereby obtain additional protection and be eligible for receiving matching Federal grants for restoration. As Stephen J. Raiche observed, "The city of St. Louis can only benefit from these efforts."[6]

The Model Cities Act promulgated by the U.S. Congress in 1966 also declared that:

> There is a need for timely action to preserve and restore areas [sic], sites and structures of historic and architectural value in order that these remaining evidences of our past history and heritage shall not be destroyed through the expansion and development of the Nation's urban areas.[7]

The first Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, Robert C. Weaver, thus commented on the Model Cities Program: "This program gives cities planning funds as well as additional money to carry out special innovative projects in neighborhoods."[8]

In response to the U.S. Congress Model Cities Act of 1966, the Cleveland Landmarks Commission was created in 1971. Through the efforts of its director, Mr. John D. Cimperman, this office could be tapped for our ethnic landmark communities' proposal. In its 1972 Annual Report the Commission points out that:

> Landmark recognition affirms the importance of the designated structure or district to the community. As such it can be an impetus for economic improvement, not only of the Landmark but also its neighborhood. One of the principal goals of the Cleveland Landmark Commission is to stabilize and improve property values and thereby strengthen the City's economy. [Emphasis added]

Local newspapers and TV stations are increasingly interested and supportive of the concept of preservation and restoration. Recently, Cleveland has been named a "Bicentennial Community" for the Bicentennial Celebration in 1976. As stated by Hugh A. Hall, Acting Director of the Washington U.S. Bicentennial Committee, "Cleveland was chosen because of its ethnic population and historical significance."[9] Ada Louis Huxtable, an architectural expert, in analyzing the New York demolition program, stated:

> While the old streets offered an urban esthetic of an intimate, handsome Georgian tradition, the new are impersonal and superhuman, except for a few essays of outdoor gimmickry and pseudo substitute for the real environmental thing. The losses, less apparent to the untutored eyes are tragic. They are in history, architecture and environment, and it is doubtful if even David Rockefeller can name the price. A city is not civilized without its past.[10]

In a most recent discussion of the urban preservation, William Martin, the editor-in-chief of The Architectural Forum summed up the gist of the problem facing many cities in America:

> Value of preservation: Despite the innovating threat to America's cultural heritage, increasing numbers of cities across the country are awakening to the economic and community value of preservation. The Surplus Property Act, together with the provisions of several other bills, now make it possible for localities to take a serious look at alternatives to demolition. With the tax incentives and zoning reforms now at work or under way, developers are gradually coming around to the notion as well. In a time of scarcity, of space, of energy, of raw materials, preservation of so-called surplus is no luxury. It is a matter of sound economic planning with the objective of making the most of what cities already have.[11]

Designation of some inner city neighborhoods as landmark communities would not pose a burden to its inhabitants nor would it force people to remodel their homes; rather, through tax rebates (as discussed in the following section) and/or government subsidies, it would provide an incentive to homeowners to upgrade their homes and thereby enhance their pride in the community; property values would increase as stability was achieved. It is not our intention nor the purpose of this project to develop a detailed plan for ethnic landmark communities. This can be worked out later. However, for the welfare of inner city communities, we would urge the responsible authorities to take quick action because the survival of a number of old neighborhoods has reached a critical stage. Since the "machinery" to put such a program in action already exists with the Cleveland Landmark Commission, the participation of other government agencies at the local, State and Federal level should not be too difficult to achieve or too time consuming.

The preservation and restoration of the ethnic neighborhoods in Cleveland is not a sentimental and unrealistic affair. These communities should be of the utmost interest to the entire city, they should be used as vital elements in its regeneration, its economic progress and its future. As an aspiring new national and international trade and cultural center, Cleveland will find in its landmark ethnic communities' concept the link between the outside world and America, between its past and present, between other cultures and our own pluralistic society.

Tax Rebate Proposal

Incentives to Prevent Deterioration. It is proposed that a partial rebate of property taxes - perhaps twenty-five percent - be granted to homeowners who qualify. The purpose of the rebate is to prevent further deterioration of residential property in Cleveland and also to encourage rehabilitation of property that is already substandard.

While avoiding the question of whether or not existing property taxes discourage improvement and maintenance of housing, all can agree that certainly they do not encourage upgrading of housing. A selective property tax rebate - even on a modest scale - would provide an incentive to some and a reward to others for preventing further blight.

It is proposed that only owner-occupied single family dwellings or two-family residences in which the owner is residing be eligible for the rebate. The restriction of the tax cut to one or two-family dwellings in which the owner resides is based on a desire to develop attitudes of pride and hope among households. It should be recalled that this entire research project is an examination of the views and values that characterize ethnic neighborhoods. The strength of such neighborhood attitudes and community values suggests that only owner-occupied housing be eligible for this tax rebate. It seems that the possibilities of building upon a sense of pride and of instilling a sense of commitment are much greater in a program aimed at homeowners.

Further, it is suggested that initially only certain dwellings in clearly defined neighborhoods would be eligible. Based on the experience gained in such a limited pilot program, the city government would undoubtedly wish to extend it to many other areas after an appropriate testing period. The four surveyed neighborhoods would be good experimental areas for the following reasons: (1) This would put some real meaning into designation of Landmark Areas. (2) The attachment to the neighborhood and to homeownership is strong in these areas, thereby making the likelihood of success greater during the experimental period. (3) The spirit of ethnic pride provides a further guarantee that the tax rebate money will be used in preventing housing deterioration. (4) There are clear signs of deterioration beginning to appear in or near these areas, suggesting that they may slide into the substandard category if prompt action is not taken.

What would be the criteria for determining which dwellings in these neighborhoods are eligible for the tax rebate? This crucial question obviously must be answered in the public forum of governmental decision making. Since other taxpayers will have to provide the funds for the rebate it is the elected officials representing all Clevelanders that must make this determination. It may be that some measure of above-average performance in property upkeep and improvement may become the criterion. We are simply recommending the approach; elected officials who have the responsibility of weighing budget priorities must determine how and to what extent the approach can be implemented.

The actual and potential difficulties of both the pilot program and the later full-scale program are recognized. State statutes would have to be enacted to permit such a tax rebate. Some conservation and rehabilitation might take place without this incentive program once an area is designated "landmark community." The funds that go into tax rebates have to be made up from other tax sources. Yet, with all these difficulties conceded, it remains true that the costs and difficulty of letting deterioration continue may well be worse.

Why not include rental housing? First, to get the program started, limits have to be set. Second, success in upkeep of rental housing depends on both the tenant and the landlord, making such an incentive program more difficult. Often enough, the landlord is not a resident of the neighborhood - or even if the city or state. Thus, there would be less likelihood of developing community spirit. Third, the basic intent of encouraging pride in one's home and pride in the City of Cleveland applies primarily to homeowners. In other words, owners make an explicit commitment to their home, to their neighborhood, and to their city. This proposal seeks to encourage and reward that kind of commitment. Fourth, in the eyes of many, rental housing is more income-oriented than homeownership is and therefore more of a business decision than a personal decision. The purpose of this proposal is not to reward businesses but people.

Might not other neighborhoods be included even in the early stages of a pilot program? To be sure they might and should. Depending on the initial amount of funds to be committed to the experiment, a study might be made of other likely neighborhoods for inclusion. In such a study, it would seem self-evident that other neighborhoods would not necessarily have to be centered around any national or language or ethnic bond. Any kind of community cohesiveness and community pride, along with some evidence of above-average concern about maintenance of home-owned housing, would justify inclusion.

If local or national decision makers manifest interest in this "Cleveland Idea," further study would be required to evaluate the proposal in cost-benefit terms. If one were talking about a twenty-five percent reduction in municipal and school taxes for owner-occupied housing in the twenty-five census tracts used to set the outside boundaries for the present study, the gross cost of the program would be modest. The benefits promise to far outweigh the cost. As a minimum, we can expect the homeowner to spend from his property tax refund the same share on housing as he does from his regular income. This amount, coupled with the homeowner's own labor on the house, could go far toward maintaining or increasing the value of the house.

In addition to the extra dollars to spend on the house, of course, there is the important factor of incentive. It does not seem at all far fetched to assume that over a period of years, Cleveland's property tax base would expand faster with this incentive than without it. In that event, the added tax revenue to the city from the improved property tax base quite conceivably could provide enough funds to pay for the tax break and still leave the city treasury ahead. The gain to all the city taxpayers, then, is only partially the chance to obtain the tax break; their greater gain comes from the growth in everybody's property value that comes from living in a revitalized city rather than a dying one. It should be noted that if the tax break does fully pay for itself, all the other benefits are pure gain to the people of Cleveland. In strict dollar terms there is the huge amount of money saved by preventing the growth of more slums. Slums demand many dollars not only for "bulldozer" urban renewal, but also for higher expenditures on crime prevention, on protecting against fire hazards, etc. The further benefits of pride, of community spirit, of attracting firms to locate in Cleveland, of rejuvenating downtown and the central business district - all these parts of the net gain are costless bonuses.

Furthermore, it would appear likely that Cleveland might well receive Federal reimbursement for the property tax breaks proposed here. Certainly, the Federal government has become disenchanted with the costliness and relative ineffectiveness of past urban renewal policies. Further, the Federal government in its revenue sharing concept and "Model Cities Act" has manifested a readiness to spend funds for encouraging and developing a sense of community in urban areas; the use of ethnic neighborhoods as starting points would facilitate building that kind of community spirit. Also, the Federal government has learned that all the wisdom and all answers do not reside in Washington; therefore, it is more ready to fund and encourage local experimental programs like this one. These considerations, coupled with the commitment of the Federal government to decent housing, suggests that Federal reimbursement is a strong possibility.

Recommendation of a property tax rebate grew, to a large extent, out of the information collected in the research study. The attachment of the people to their homes and to their neighborhoods, the community spirit, the stability and permanency - all these gave rise to the policy proposal. But the recommendation also grew out of the ineffectiveness of so many public dollars spent in the past to make city living more attractive, more humane, more safe, and more convenient.

In the Depression years, Federal and state governments spent large sums on urban housing. After World War II came the Landmark

Housing Act of 1948. This was to be a turning point in American history - especially in the history of our cities. Urban slums and blight were to be destroyed. Decent housing for every American was to be guaranteed. Over the last 25 years, enormous sums have been spent on public housing, on urban renewal, on rent subsidies, on model cities, on mortgage guarantees and subsidized mortgage interest rates. So many dollars with so little to show for it. A drive or a walk through large sections of Cleveland indicate that the results are inadequate.

At least, a few lessons have been learned. For one thing, we know that bulldozer renewal as the solution to urban housing simply is impossible. It is impossible in terms of money, for it is enormously expensive. It is impossible in terms of time also. That is, these programs moved so slowly that the slum growth process proved to be faster than the slum clearance process. In the face of so many dilapidated and deteriorating dwellings, it would be a weak accomplishment to hold our own. Yet, we were unable to even do that much with present forms of urban renewal.

Housing deterioration is not a simple result of aging or poor construction. Some old housing became substandard, other housing of the same vintage did not. Further, some quality housing became slums and some cheaply-built housing remained in good condition.

How, then to prevent housing from sliding over the edge into the sub-standard category? In this report, we are talking primarily about owner-occupied housing. To be sure, many of the worst housing conditions are in rented housing. Yet, it is also true that the majority of government housing programs have been aimed at rental housing; some balance may be needed. In any case, the areas studied in this report consist primarily of owner-occupied housing and it is on this type that our policy recommendations focus.

As previously stated, the survey data reveal the high percentage (roughly two-thirds) of the residents in the four communities who own their own houses. This fact clearly reflects the attachment of these people to Cleveland in general and to their neighborhood in particular.[12]

The best place for a pilot program aimed at residential conservation would be an area in which the appropriate attitudes already exist. The surveys indicate that those attitudes of pride, of cohesiveness, of attachment to home ownership, of stability, all exist in the areas studied. The presence of such attitudes means that the likelihood of success is greater - an important consideration at the experimental stage of any program.

In spite of all the prejudice that potentially exists, most of our citizens would probably agree that an all-Black Cleveland is as undesirable as having all-white suburbs. Therefore, just as it is worth struggling to achieve more integration in the suburbs, so too it is worth preserving integration in the central city of Cleveland. Any program that strives to keep Cleveland attractive to those whites already in the city and to middle classes in general deserves support on that basis alone. It may not be too much to hope that Blacks and whites will become more aware of two more things they share in common: pride in home ownership and pride in Cleveland.

Honesty demands that a valid question be dealt with concerning the tax break proposal and/or any other possible subsidies. Why should some taxpayers of Cleveland be given a tax break and a subsidy to some other taxpayers of Cleveland?

It must be admitted, however, that any tax break is a subsidy payment made from the taxes of others. And, even if the subsidy ultimately should come from Federal funds, it is still fair to ask why the taxpayers of America should give this gift to a selected few neighborhoods. There can be only one acceptable answer to the question: Everybody will be better off if property deterioration is slowed down or (hopefully) reversed. Everybody will be better off in terms of the total property tax base, in terms of a better living environment for all, and in terms of preventing the far more costly demolition type of slum removal (which becomes a tax burden on everyone).

There is still one final persuasive reason for initiating this program for rejuvenating Cleveland. There is already talk of giving much larger property tax breaks to business firms that locate in the city; this kind of subsidy is now permitted under a recently enacted statute of Ohio. Surely, if such huge property tax breaks can be given *by* the taxpayers of Cleveland, a modest tax break can be given *to* the taxpayers of Cleveland. The phrase "huge property tax breaks" is used advisedly. It is normal to give business firms, not a 25% rebate as suggested here, but a 100% rebate. Further, such concessions often guarantee the firms that the 100% rebate will be given for 20 or more years! It is often difficult to see just what benefits taxpayers receive in return for the generous subsidy they give to business firms, especially when there is no guarantee that all the jobs at these new firms will not go to suburbanites. However that may be, the much smaller type of tax break being proposed here definitely does benefit the taxpayers of Cleveland and only the taxpayers of Cleveland. Furthermore, there is a very good chance that the residential tax break will ultimately *add* to Cleveland's property tax by preventing slums and by upgrading the existing housing stock. Giving a new business firm a twenty-year gift of property tax exemption, on the other hand, guarantees a *loss* of property tax base. Thus, the logic that prompted the Ohio General Assembly to permit tax subsidies to business firms would demand all the more that tax subsidies be granted to home owners.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Rosenthal, Erich, op. cit., p. 278.

[2] For valuable discussion of unique preservation problems facing ethnics in Cincinnati, especially "The New Look of Cincinnati's Old Mt. Auburn" see "Preservation for the People," Historic Preservation, Vol. 24, No. 2 (April-June 1972), pp. 31-37. The periodical is published by National Trust for Historic Preservation in Washington.

[3] Wilson, Richard Guy, "Old West Side," Historic Preservation, (July-Sept. 1973) published by the National Trust for Historical Preservation, 746-748 Johnson Place, Washington, D.C.

[4] Raiche, Stephen J., "Soulard: An Ethnic Neighborhood. Past and Present," Historic Preservation, (July-Sept. 1973), pp. 37-39.

[5] "Welcome to German Village," a pamphlet issued by the German Village Society, 624 South Third Street, Columbus, Ohio, 43206.

[6] Raiche, Ibid., p. 41. Stephen J. Raiche is Chief Research Historian for the Missouri State Historical Survey and Planning Office.

[7] Cleveland Landmarks Commission Annual Report 1972, p. 9.

[8] Weaver, Robert C., "Rebuilding American Cities: An Overview," Current History, Vol. 35, No. 328 (Dec. 1968), p. 326.

[9] "U.S. Designates Cleveland a 'Bicentennial Community,'" The Plain Dealer, November 17, 1973, p. 1.

[10] Huxtable, Ada Louis, "Farewell, Old New York," The New York Times Magazine, Nov. 18, 1973, pp. 102-106.

[11] Martin, William, "New Life for Courthouse in St. Paul, Minnesota is New Life for a City," The Christian Science Monitor, November 16, 1973, p. 24.

[12] The effect of ethnicity on property values (owner-occupied single dwellings) has been found to be an important positive factor in the recent study on "Air Pollution and Property Values - A Reply," by Robert J. Anderson, Jr. and Thomas D. Crocker. The Review of Economics and Statistics, Vol. LIV, November 1972, pp. 470-473.

CONCLUSIONS

It is evident that since 1950, Cleveland has encountered the same basic problems experienced by other major urban areas: sharp declines in the central city population, striking increases in crime rates, deterioration of entire city districts into slums, and disintegration of long standing inner city neighborhoods.

With these changes, city revenues decreased while expenditures, particularly police protection costs, increased. Cleveland, like other cities, became more and more dependent on the Federal Government for any type of local renewal programs. The recently adopted "revenue sharing" scheme, however, and the proposed Better Cities Act HR-7277, (replacing the Model Cities Act) emphasizes the preservation of cities' individual characteristics; thus, Federal funds can be used for locally developed neighborhood renewal projects. This is, therefore, an appropriate time for implementing our "landmark ethnic communities" concept.

Apart from the human elements involved, if conservation and rehabilitation of existing neighborhoods is cheaper than bulldozer type renewal (and existing data would lead to that conclusion), the older inner city ethnic neighborhoods deserve primary consideration because projects in these communities offer the best chances of success. They have been the most stable areas of the inner city, emphasizing strong family and cultural ties, attachment to neighborhood values, religion, and work ethics. Their labor force has been the backbone of Cleveland's economy; industrial and commercial establishments depended, to a considerable extent, on the skills and the reliability of these workers. (In fact, the gradual outmigration of this labor force has been a factor in the relocation of many of Cleveland's industrial plants to suburban areas.) In addition, since 1930, these neighborhoods have played an increasingly important role in the city's political life. For the last forty years, all City mayors have been products of ethnic neighborhoods and almost all of the current City councilmen grew up in these communities.

No one can predict the exact effect pf a landmark community revitalization program on the inner city stability and population growth. What is clear, however, is that a landmark ethnic community concept is in line with the national drive toward stabilizing inner city districts and conserving increasingly scarce resources necessary for bulldozer type renewal programs. It is also an expression of the wishes of inner city residents who are struggling to keep these neighborhoods as viable entities.

By making inner city communities more prestigious (as landmark communities) and giving them the necessary protection from crime, pride in the neighborhood will increase also. By offering attractive cultural surroundings with ethnic stores, restaurants, churches, and social activities, inner city areas will become increasingly appealing to suburbanites.

Mobility, prestige, pride, and protection were the factors which influenced the flight to the suburbs. By invoking these same factors in a renewal program, it is likely that those who are concerned with the increasingly high transportation costs and who cherish living in an integrated community, will return. The slow deterioration of these areas is not the result of apathy on the part of the residents, but rather of forces beyond the control of city residents. It is the product of two powerful forces espoused by the "Melting Pot" ideology and the ethos of a "throw away society." Neither of these doctrines has proven sound in the long run. The former has led to rejection of one's past and ethnic background, the latter to wasteful use of resources.

The concept of cultural pluralism is far more realistic for today's America, than the creation of stereotyped human beings which even European dictatorships failed to produce. Even though the overt manifestations of some ethnic groups might slowly disappear through generations of amalgamation, there are racial differences among Americans which will continue to exist. Is it better to downgrade and repress such expressions of one's past - making certain people second-class citizens - or to give to these forces the proper outlets which will enrich and enlighten our lives?

In considering the problem of entire urban districts being deserted in search of dwellings mushrooming in new development areas at a time when sufficient and decent housing is available in existing communities, one is tempted to conclude that the blame largely rests with an economic system which is based on "planned obsolescence." Inner city ethnic neighborhoods can not withstand the pressures exerted by powerful groups whose prosperity is influenced by "planned obsolescence in housing." In view of increasing scarcities in the construction industry, why is it necessary to build two million homes each year when over 48 million dwellings are already available? A wiser approach is to redirect our resources to the upkeep of existing structures.* An inquiry into the "Planned obsolescence in housing" deserves a major research effort at the local and national level. It is timely and in line with the goals and objectives of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the National League of Cities, and Urban Observatories. It is one which will open a new dimension into an inquiry on the deterioration of inner city ethnic neighborhoods.

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*In the City of Cleveland, the number of vacant dwellings increased from 635 in 1950 to 12,193 in 1973. Of these approximately 5,000 are unfit for living or scheduled for demolition. (Data obtained by the Real Property Inventory of Cleveland, 1974.)

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